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ARTICLE I.

HUME, AS A HISTORIAN.

It may be a prejudice, but I have always regarded it as a matter of gratitude, that I was born and educated under the influence of English literature. Books are destined to have a powerful influence over men; they are the only weapons which achieve the permanent victories that alter the face of our globe; and, on the whole, English literature is the purest, and most impregnated with the spirit of the gospel, of any which has existed. In Germany, the human mind wanders in vagaries; every thing is pushed to extravagance; and they seem to have no sense of the absurd or ridiculous, either in forming theories, or painting characters. They seem to need the lash of such satirists as Swift and Pope, to tame them from the vagaries of enthusiasm, to the plain realities of common sense.* In France, they are all

* It may be a dream of mine, but it has always appeared to me, that such writers as Swift, Pope, and Addison, with all their faults, have had a powerful influence in giving to the English nation that common sense character, for which they have been distinguished, and the more distinguished, the more they are compared with some of their neighbors. Other causes have indeed co-operated. The manner in which many of the high-flying dreams in politics and religion, in the days of Cromwell, terminated; their commercial character, and their government; have tended to make them calculators of the earth, rather than soars into the clouds. But certainly their satirists, though, in swinging their promiscuous scythes, they have cut down many a fair flower as well as many a hurtful weed, have had a hand in keeping them from that wild spirit of theory and speculation, which prevail in Germany. It seems to me, that the value of

economists and sensualists ; never unlocking the secrets of our spiritual nature ; never soaring into the regions of moral grandeur and beauty ; and their literati still write and act as if they half believed, what no man can entirely believe, that death is an eternal sleep. Italy has her pastorals, and Spain has her ballads ; but England, blessed old England, has poured on us the treasures of some of the greatest geniuses, combined with the purest hearts, that ever wrote. It is a privilege to say, that the language of Milton is your mother tongue ; that the songs of Watts were sung over your cradle ; and that your religious sentiments were formed by such writers as Hooker, and Owen, and Baxter, and Edwards, and Butler, who often combine the warmest piety with the most rigid demonstration, and sometimes with the most persuasive eloquence. These are stars, whose lustre I never look to see surpassed ; and I repeat it, it is the richest blessing to be born under the beneficent influence of these constellations of our northern sky.

There was one department of literature, which, for a long time, the English were supposed to be deficient in, and that is, historical composition. It is now believed, however, since Hume, and Gibbon, and Dr. Robertson, of Scotland, have produced their elaborate performances, that this reproach has been wiped away. Each of these authors have a high name, not certainly to be acquired without great merit ; but I am afraid, if the removing of the reproach of our historical deficiency depends on them, it must still remain. If the merit of history depends upon holding up an unwrinkled mirror, to reflect, in perfection, past events, it is certain this praise must be withheld from two of them, at least. Besides, the whole style and character which they have given to historical writing, in my opinion, is wrong. Written history should flow over the events of time, like a

German literature has been vastly overrated. No doubt their biblical critics have brought some new lights to illustrate the Scriptures. But strip them of their extravagant theories, and how little will remain. The same erudition, brought to a subject, when it is shown enlarged through the mists of some ingenious hypothesis, appears much greater than when arranged to establish the antiquated dictates of common sense. Whatever value these German geniuses may have, it has always been lost in the importing. Their worth is too fugitive to endure the ordeal of a translation. Whatever is their own, is false ; and whatever is true, we have heard before. Their dramatic writers are too little like Shakspeare, and their critics and commentators too much like Warburton. As I am somewhat an enemy to their reputation, I have malice enough to wish they might all be translated.

silver current over the pebbles of its bed, without a shaking of the water, to make it turbid, and almost without a refraction. The language should glide with the sweetest simplicity; *proper words in proper places*; for the object of history is not to color or magnify, but, like a glass window, to convey the conception of the landscape as it is, with all its beauties and imperfections. It is the last place in the world to indulge in what is erroneously called fine writing, which is but another name for fine deceiving. I wish to see Old Time arrayed in the *multician* and *coan* garments of antiquity,* and not wrapped in surplices and robes, like a bishop at the altar, or a lord on a court day, when the dress and the ceremony hide the shape and the character which we are most curious to see.

History professes to give us facts; and, therefore, if it misstates or misinterprets those facts, it becomes tenfold more deceiving. All our wisdom comes from experience; and whatever is not within the compass of our own experience, comes from the testimony of others. The Ruler of the world is constantly reading us a lesson, in the execution of his providential laws. Now the transmission of this lesson depends upon the faithfulness of the record; and, had history always been written as it ought, had moral causes and effects been always brought up before the mind, just as God, in his eternal laws, has connected them, I can conceive nothing more calculated to give the mind all the instruction that this world can afford. Unhappily, however, we are compelled, except in the pages of revelation, to see past time through a fallible medium. The objects surveyed are the works of God, performed indeed through the agency of man, but the *medium* is always artificial; we see them enlarged, diminished, distorted, through the prejudices of the writer—or, what is the greatest source of deception, we often have the truth, but not the whole truth. In such cases, truth itself has the effect of falsehood.

It is a melancholy circumstance, that history has so often fallen into the hands of men *acute*, rather than *wise*; willing rather to show their own intellectual omnipotence, than to give us a fair representation of real events; men of perverted intellects and depraved hearts. Such men will certainly never reach the sublime and beautiful of history. No man

* Juvenal, Sat. II. 65 line.

can write well, unless his soul speaks ; unless his passions prompt his pen. He may be master of a very fine style ; he may draw his characters with much delicacy and discrimination ; he may satirize folly, and sometimes make truth ridiculous ; he may show great intellectual power ; power which we should admire in an ancient orator, or a modern lawyer. But, after all, he is not a good historian. He misleads the world, and perhaps himself.

Of all the men who have led the way in this perverted style of history, perhaps none have been more popular and successful than DAVID HUME. The remark of Dr. Johnson, that no man ever became great by imitation, is not always true ; for when a great genius condescends to imitate an inferior model, he only shows how surprizingly he can surpass his pattern. Hume, in the general tenor of history, was an imitator of Voltaire ; and, although he wanted Voltaire's varied talents—

Grammaticus, rhetor, geometres, pictor, aliptes
 Augur, schœnobates, medicus, magus : omnia novit.
 Greculus esuriens in cœlum, jusseris, ibit.

—Yet, in every requisite of a historian, he was greatly his superior. Seizing on the most enchanting period of English history, and writing in the careless and graceful style of a man of the world, he has produced a work which must always be read, and is calculated to have no small power over the public mind. This book is in all our libraries ; is read by the young, in the course of their education ; and, though the errors of the book have been elaborately pointed out by acute reviewers, yet something, perhaps, may be said, profitable to our own country. It would be a matter of sorrow, in this late day, if one mind should be misled by sophistry so flimsy, though produced by abilities so great.

The happiest literary productions are, when a peculiar man is brought to the execution of a task peculiarly fitted to his genius. There is an affinity between some minds and some subjects ; they seem to revel on them, as congenial themes ; there is an exquisite harmony between the author and his book ; and we close the volume, saying, ‘ This man was born for this purpose, and no other.’ The words flow as unlaboriously from his pen, as water from a fountain ; and every impression we receive, is a picture transmitted from soul to soul. Thus every reader rejoices that Milton's mind

lighted on such a theme as *Paradise Lost*. Cervantes tells that he held that *Don Quixote* was born for him, and he for *Don Quixote*; and all can see, that no matter ever more completely matched the mind that produced it. As the blossoms of some plants effuse the very smell of the root, so does every page of that unrivalled production savor of the character of its author's mind. But every one sees that Pope was not at home in translating Homer—it was a forced marriage between discordant parties. Trace the whole circle of literature, and you will find, that those books which are *pure honey*—which touch the very centre of delight and profit in our bosoms—are formed, when some peculiar mind lights on some congenial theme. In such cases, invention riots in her task, and accomplishes her work with the least labor, and the greatest success.

The history of England, from the days of Henry VIII. down to the passing the reform bill, is very peculiar, and calls for an author of peculiar powers to represent it. It presents the grandest spectacle ever witnessed on our globe. Greater battles may have been fought; broader kingdoms may have been established, or melted into air; more conquerors may have appeared, and rolled to richer thrones on more splendid cars; but I take it, as no tragedy is estimated by the size of the stage on which it is acted, or the splendor of the scenery, but wholly by the excellence of the dialogue, so it is the conflict of mind with mind, which gives the sublimest interests to the records of time. This is the very character of the period to which I have alluded. I know not how better to designate it, than by using the language of Scripture in the visions of the prophet: *The four winds of heaven strove on the great sea*. It is a conflict of principle—it is a debate, in which the great interests of mankind are at stake. Every thing to be sure, is thrown into commotion; the old foundations of society are torn up from their bottom, and cast about in every direction. The mind seems to wake from the slumber of ages; to catch new ideal images; to gaze on a new sun; to breathe a new air; and to form the bright conception of a higher and holier state. It is true, the path to the prize lies through suffering, and every furlong of the journey is dyed with blood. It is not a measurement of corporeal strength; it is not a conflict which may be settled by powder and ball—but the invisible nature of man steps forth on the scene, religion combines with politics, and

liberty asserts her long forgotten and disregarded claims. On the one side, there is a set of tyrants, who have established their thrones on the ignorance of mankind ; and suck their nourishment from the secondary vices which their own primary ones have helped to foster. On the other hand, there springs up a little band of Christian patriots, determined to be free. The press begins to be unshackled, the Bible is translated, and the conflict commences. Truth blows her trumpet, and flashes her torch over the caves and palaces where the giants of superstition have long enjoyed their repose. They start ; they rise ; they roar ; they attempt to open the bottomless pit, and fill the whole atmosphere with the locusts, and the smoke. In the language of the old Gnostics, we may say it is a conflict between light and darkness ; between the demon of matter and the god of light. The heart is kept in constant agitation, by the long and doubtful struggle of the balanced powers. Now the sun of truth seems breaking from the clouds ; now the darkness returns, and the storm redoubles its violence ; wind meets wind ; wave crosses wave ; and the whole surface ferments, and foams, and heaves, with the dreadful agitation. The cause of Protestantism seems to make some incipient struggles in the days of Henry VIII. It seems to be fully established in the days of Edward VI. The blackest night of popery and persecution returns with Queen Mary. A doubtful struggle is maintained in the days of Queen Elizabeth. Then arose the puritans—noble minds—men who knew how to act and suffer, as well as to write and preach. A systematic attempt is made to oppress the liberties of the nation and the rights of conscience, under the Stuarts. Then the human mind puts on all its armor, and bursts forth in all its grandeur and importance. Never was there a greater age. The stage almost seems peopled with a different order of beings from common men. It was an age of delusion, to be sure, and of enthusiasm ; but it was an age of greatness. Even the torpid feelings of Hume, who can see martyred liberty and religion led to the stake without a tear, and speculate on their tombs—even he seems to kindle for a moment at the thrilling sight. “Now was the time when genius and capacity, of all kinds, freed from the restraint of authority, and nourished by unbounded hopes and projects, began to exert themselves, and be distinguished by the public. Then was celebrated

the sagacity of Pym, more fitted for use than ornament; matured, not chilled, by his advanced age and long experience. Then was displayed the mighty ambition of Hampden, taught disguise, not moderation, from former constraint; supported by courage, conducted by prudence, embellished by modesty; but whether founded in love of power, or zeal for liberty, is still, from his untimely end, left doubtful and uncertain. Then, too, were known the dark, ardent and dangerous character of St. John; the impetuous spirit of Hollis, violent and sincere, open and entire, in his enmities and in his friendships; the enthusiastic genius of young Vane, extravagant in the ends which he pursued, sagacious and profound in the means which he employed, incited by the appearances of religion, negligent of the duties of morality.*

It is impossible to write the history of this period with fidelity, without an extensive acquaintance with the books and pamphlets of that day. In these, we trace the causes of the movements which shook the throne, and emancipated for a time the nation. It is true, there was much rubbish; much enthusiasm; much unintelligible nonsense. But there was also the deepest wisdom, the fruit and the evidence of the deepest feeling. I hardly ever opened an author of that period, without tracing the effect of the excitement of that day, in the amazing fertility and eloquence of the animated page. Pope, Swift, Addison, write well; but they are at their ease; their faculties are tranquillized by the repose of an elbow-chair. Not so, Milton, Harrington, Taylor, South, &c. It is doubtful whether a mariner can bring forth all his faculties, until the storm comes. So it is with respect to the dormant powers of the human mind. "Behold," says Milton, "this vast city; a city of refuge; the mansion house of liberty; encompassed and surrounded with his protection; the shops of war hath not more anvils and hammers waking, to fashion out the plates of armed justice in defence of beleaguered truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas, wherewith to present, as with their homage and their fealty, the approaching reformation; others are fast reading, trying all things, apparently, to the force of reason and convincement. What can a man require more from a nation, so pliant, and so prone to seek after know-

* Hist. of Great Britain, Charles I. ch. v.

ledge? What wants there to such a towardly and pregnant soil, but wise and faithful laborers, to make a knowing people, a nation of prophets, of sages, and of worthies? We reckon more than five months yet to harvest; there need not be five weeks, had we but eyes to lift up; the fields are white already."*

It is true, the waves of darkness rolled back, and seemed, to a superficial eye, to cover the land. But liberty, after all, *liberty of thought*, is the very genius of our ancestors. It flows in the blood of English and Americans. As Webster says, it is imbedded in our soil; and it is a sober liberty, because it has always walked hand in hand with religion. After many trepidations, and ebbings and flowings of the public tide of oppression and independence, we may consider liberty as established in the reign of King William.

Now I say there never was a time when such an interesting conflict was exhibited. The history of most ancient nations is the history of oppression. Mind is sunk—there is nothing like principle—the internal nature of man is subjected to outward force. Even the liberty of Greece and Rome, so often vaunted, was a very partial and defective liberty. It was combined with no high moral principle; it was the ambition of a selected corps against one, while, at the same time, both parties should combine to crush the many. When Christianity woke the world from the slumbers of paganism, it seemed for a while as if great scenes were to be exhibited, and great principles were to be discussed; and, true enough, the Christian religion did for a while struggle with the torporific tendency of the age; it kept alive whatever was great and good in the character of the times. But Christianity, instead of inspiring the world, sunk under its corruptions. It burst on mankind healthful and fresh, like a mountain stream, rolling down the rock, scattering coolness and freshness in its path; but, as that same stream, however fresh and pure at its origin, may roll into the level plain, and, amidst its saline and bituminous sands, become calm, polluted and sluggish, so did Christianity linger and languish in our world, until the days of Luther. Then she started from her sleep; and England has been the spot of her most genuine operations. RELIGION and LIBERTY! these are the greatest names that ever arrested the attention of man-

* Areopagitica.

kind ; and such are the themes of our history, since the days of Henry the VIII. Say, then, was there ever a subject more worthy of an eloquent pen—the organ of a just and glowing heart !

All this requires a historian to relate it, who should be, whatever David Hume was not. Sometimes I have felt a transient wish that Milton had completed his design, and given us a full body of English history. He had all the glow of soul, all the high conception of the sublime and beautiful in morals, which was necessary. But Milton was born for a poet, and not for a historian. His prose is poetry ; and his diction is too ponderous and encumbered for common readers. He might have given a good narrative for those who would have *studied it out* ; but that number would have been small. Besides, Milton, though having a strong intuitive insight into truth, yet was no reasoner ; his deductions are perfect, but his premises are often laid in the imagination. He was not the man to balance probabilities, to sum up the argument, and to lead the reader's mind through a narrow path, to retiring truth. The same subject was attempted by Burke. His vast capacity and his unbounded eloquence would no doubt have left us an English history of great value. No man knew, better than he, how to seize hold of a leading fact, or principle, which should shed light on all the complex entanglements of annexed events. Thus, in his speech on American affairs, he has thrown out a thought, which goes farther to explain why Britain could not conquer America, than all the narratives and speculations which may be found in the professed historians. He just asks the ministry to state to themselves, what it would be to conquer America ? Taking a town, was not conquering America ; marching through the country, was not ; surveying it, was not ; and as for occupying a space of so many millions of square miles, it was out of the question. There was not one vital spot, at which they could strike, and say that the provincials would be subdued. Now this was the true secret, notwithstanding all the flattering unctions addressed to our vanity, on the fourth of July, about our invincible arms—this is the true secret why we were not conquered. The wide surface of our country, and the intelligent yeomanry spread over it, was, under God, our salvation. No man, therefore, had more of some of the most splendid requisites of a historian, than the bright-

mind ed Edmund Burke. But, after all, this orator hardly answers to one's conception of a historian. His diction is too splendid, and his mind roves too far after the gaudy images of his own fertile conception, to pursue the beaten path of narrative. It is dangerous to say what a great man can do, or to attempt to limit his power ; but it is not, perhaps, superfluous superstition, to express a fear that Burke's history, like Homer's *Fame*, would not even have walked the ground, without sometimes hiding its head in the clouds.

But never was there a mind, of equal power, less fitted for the task, than that of David Hume. I can imagine Sir Isaac Newton writing novels, in the style of Richardson ; I can imagine Thomas Moore writing pious hymns, as he did, though it must be confessed he makes sad work of it ; I can imagine Mr. Locke translating the epigrams of Martial ; I can almost imagine Milton, (*horresco referens*), writing a comedy, in the style of Congreve—I say I can imagine all these things, more easily than I could imagine the super-sensuous and high-principled history of England, with all its spiritual lights and shades, falling into the grasp of such an animalized being as David Hume—if it had not actually taken place. What is it ? It is the serpent of seduction, crawling beneath the flowers of paradise.

In the first place, his unfitness for the task was seated in the very tissue of his soul. He had no perception of the sublime and beautiful in morals. He could follow the patriot to his agony of glory, and the martyr to his stake, without one touch of sympathy with the generosity of the one, or the devotion of the other. His *conception*, as well as his heart, seems to have been defective. We often find that men of very imperfect lives, and gross in their pleasures, still preserve a bright apprehension of moral beauty. Thomson, the poet, if his biographers have not been unjust to his memory, was on the whole a luxurious and sensual man, loving a good supper better than the morning landscape, which he so finely describes. However low his pleasures might have been, (and I am afraid they were much lower than we should be willing to remember, while reading the *Seasons*), he still preserved in his mind the bright ideal of moral beauty. There was a discord and divorce between his fancy and his heart. But it was not so with Hume. There was a dreadful harmony between them. No glowing forms of spiritual life flitted before his mind ; no high con-

ceptions of man's final destiny and social improvement visited his waking or sleeping dreams. He was the most impassive being that ever crawled among the reptiles of lower life. It was said by Rousseau, that when a man begins to reason, he ceases to feel; and I believe it is strictly true, that when a man begins to reason sophistically, he loses his heart in his sophistry. Hume never seems to sympathize with the self-sacrifices which the patriot makes; he sees men pleading, suffering, dying, in the cause of the best interests of mankind, and never catches one spark of the flame. He puts down, with a caustic satire, some of the most generous hearts that ever beat and bled for the elevation or felicity of the human race. He loves repose; he wants all things to continue as they were; he is always ready to make a treaty with bigots and tyrants, on the terms of *uti possidetis*. Now such a man has abilities, and is fit for something. Let him go and write his metaphysical essays; let him prove to his own satisfaction, if he can, that it is doubtful whether bread will nourish, or the next morsel of meat, however well killed and cooked, may not prove rank poison; let him raise his *skeptical doubts*, until he doubts his own being; and give a *skeptical solution* of these doubts, until he begins to think he does exist—all this is legitimate quarry for such a mind—but oh, let him not come within the awful limits of English history! It is consecrated ground. *There* are suns which he never saw, and flowers which he cannot smell. He can scarce write a line, without satirizing the subject, and throwing a deeper satire on his own heart.

In the second place, Hume was, by nature and disposition, a sophist—a race of men who have always existed, but the last men who ought to deal in facts. The sophists are a sort of men, who arose in Greece, and are often alluded to by the best writers of antiquity. A sophist is not a man who, misled by subtleties and the darkness of his own mind, falls into error because he honestly mistakes it for truth. Such a man is the dupe of sophistry. But he is one, who considers words as counters, to prove any sum which he may wish to pass current. He is one, who has no object but to excite admiration by showing his ingenuity. He purposely chooses the wrong side, and defends it with all the plausibility in his power. A paradox is his delight; he covets and purloins the robes of truth, only to polish them, and fit them, with the nicest adjustment, to the wen-spotted and distorted

limbs of delusion. An idea of the sophist may be obtained from the speeches of Hippias, in the 5th book of the *Memorabilia* of Xenophon, 4 c. When Hippias came to Athens, Socrates was, as usual, discoursing on moral subjects; and was lamenting that, while every man knew where to send his son to learn to make a shield, or tame a horse, yet it was so very hard to know where to go to learn righteousness. O, said Hippias, laughing and jeering at him, you are sawing on the same old string; I think I have heard all this before. Yes, said Socrates, and what is worse, O Hippias, when my subject is the same, I always treat it in the same manner, that is, I always use the same arguments to accomplish the same conviction. But you, Hippias, are an original genius. You, I suppose, never support the same truth by the same arguments.* No, by no means, replied Hippias, I always try to say something new. *Πειρώμαι καινόν τι λέγειν δεῖ.* Well, now, said Socrates, let us take a subject most level to our faculties. Suppose, now, a painter were to ask you how big I am, and what is my color and shape. Would you answer one thing at one time, and another at another? Or, suppose an arithmetician were to ask you how much twice five is. Would you say to-day it is ten, and to-morrow fifteen? O, said Hippias, on these subjects, to be sure, I always say the same thing. But when I come to the essence of morals, I think I can show you that it is right to vary. Socrates goes on to show him, by irresistible induction, that here, too, truth is immutable. He appeals to the laws of all nations, and especially to the unwritten laws of eternal justice. I quote this, to show, from the mouth of Hippias, the very spirit of a sophist—*καινόν τι*—that is his sole object. He is a kind of intellectual rope-dancer, whose only aim is to astonish mankind at the feats he can perform.

Now, this propensity was engraved in the very genius of Hume. It was an impulse, which, though sometimes he tries to suppress it, is always rising to overpower his resolution, and fill the channel of his favorite passion. Now sophistry, on some subjects, is harmless and amusing. It is pleasant to trace the vagaries of the human mind, and to see to what startling conclusions our deductions may lead us. I,

* It will be seen by the Greek scholar, who chooses to consult the original, that my translation is intentionally free.

for my part, never read a novel, with half the interest that I have some of the dialogues of Bishop Berkley, who was a *sophist, with an honest heart*. But the sophist and the historian are incompatible characters. Facts are plain things; the moment you throw fine-spun speculation around them, they cease to be facts. What a broad, plain, round-about mind had Thucydides and Xenophon; and this constitutes their excellence. They seem to talk like an honest witness on the stand in a court of law; and the chief elegance of their language is its simplicity. Hume was a different man; he was used to refining; and if he had tried to be honest, I doubt whether it would have been possible.

The last fault in Hume was, his want of diligence. He had not the spirit of an antiquarian. His mind was too acute and mercurial for that. It is very rare, that a man of genius is a good searcher. Hume differed from Gibbon, in this respect. He supplied, by rapid surmises, the place of that knowledge which only investigation can bestow. It is not my intention to enter into detail;* but his partial statements and his absurd omissions have, by recent abler writers, been fully exposed.

Yet, after all, there are few books which contain their own confutation more fully than Hume's history. He admits on one page, what would require all his acute powers to reconcile with what he says on another. Thus he says, in drawing the character of Charles the First, that the most malignant scrutiny will find no reason to question his sincerity and good faith. In short, that he was a man who always kept his word. Yet, on another page, he acknowledges† that he only intended to comply with his engagements, as far as he *easily* could. A fine instance of good faith in a monarch, whose throne might have been preserved, if his people could have had confidence in his keeping his word! On one page, he laughs at the parliament, "for pretending to handle questions, for which the greatest philosophers, in the tranquillity of retreat, had never been able to find a satisfactory solution." But, on another page, we find there never were

* It is well known, that his history of the Stuarts was written before the previous narrative. He ran it over very hastily—wrote it merely to help out his other work. Cretan against Cretan; Gibbon despatches his critique on Hume in three words: *Ingenious, but superficial*.

† See Hist. Great Britain, chap. ii. page 180, London ed. 1769.

greater men than the leaders of this very parliament.* Sometimes the people are actually aggrieved, and have reason to suppose their liberties are snatched from them; and anon, these grievances amount to nothing. Sometimes the ancient charters are sufficiently clear in favor of liberty; and then again all pretences to a free constitution are innovations. It is not necessary, here, to enter into the thorny question, so much debated in England, and so useless in this country, whether English liberty can be supported by precedents. I have always supposed, that consulting their ancient statues and precedents, is very much like consulting the *ante-nicene* fathers, in supporting a doctrine. You are always sure to seek successfully what you are determined to find; and, thanks to God, liberty rests on reason and religion, and not on the parliaments of a half enlightened age. But, however this may be, we lose some of our confidence in the historian who crosses his own track, and admits of facts at war with his own conclusions.

Like Buonaparte, Hume's tactics depend on one great manœuvre; and it would be easy to give a recipe for writing history on his plan, which, whenever it is understood, ceases to deceive. *Set up an unfounded hypothesis; then admit half a dozen facts, which overthrow that hypothesis; and then go on and reason as if the hypothesis must be true, and you were totally unconscious of your own concessions.*

For example: the death of Stephen M. Clark, the boy who fired the town of Newburyport, is well known; and no one, in that vicinity, I suppose, doubts his guilt, or that he was legally and justly executed. Now, suppose I should wish to impress on my readers the conviction that he was unjustly hanged, and should imitate the style of Hume—I should write thus:

‘It was about this time that this youthful and unfortunate victim was sacrificed to the absurd bigotry and groundless fears of the inhabitants of Newburyport. He was led, a sad and silent spectacle, to the place of execution, in despite of his blooming youth, his fine talents, his enterprising abilities, and the tears and agonies of his afflicted parents and friends. We may venture to say, there has seldom been committed a greater outrage on the feelings of justice and humanity. His guilt is more than doubtful. Indeed, the

* See page 136, London ed. 1769.

only evidence we have that he committed the crime at all, is the sentence of the court ; and though no open bribery was there proved, yet when we consider the defenceless condition of the boy, the uncertainty of the law, and the chicanery of the lawyers, together with the strength of the popular odium, there can scarcely remain a doubt on the reader's mind, that this unhappy youth died to appease those passions which demand an atonement, but are careless to find the right victim.'

Yet this book, with all the talents and malignity with which it is written, may be made one of the most harmless volumes that was ever delivered by hoary wisdom into the hands of unsuspecting youth. The bubbles of Hume's history vanish at a touch ; and a single note, at the bottom of a page, might blow them into the air of which they were originally made. Thus, when he makes us pity the *innocent* Mary, weeping before the *brutal* Knox, it is only necessary to state a few facts of which that *innocence* was composed, (facts of the historian's own concession,) and the scene may safely be left to speak for itself. The tears of a beautiful young queen, are of great account, no doubt, in romance and tragedy. But when we remember that a woman's tears are sometimes her most effectual weapons ; that Mary was a papist, and in league with her uncles, the Guises, the most determined papists Europe ever saw, in a plot actually to put down the protestants ; that they even went so far as to think of dethroning Elizabeth ; that power, and wealth, and treachery, and arms, are on one side, and that a solitary and intrepid spirit, in the form of a Christian minister, stands on the other—the griefs of Mary, though a youthful queen, will not be thought very pathetic, except by those who have chivalry enough to place the tears of a woman above the destinies of mankind. How potent is truth, when the sophistry of Hume only serves at last more clearly to reveal it !

ARTICLE II.

PUNISHMENT OF THE CROSS.

THE ingenuity of men in the invention of penal tortures, has well nigh equalled their ingenuity in the invention of crime. They have seemed to think, that the more terrific and revolting a chastisement is, so much the stronger will be the reluctance to incur it. In this they have forgotten that certainty, rather than severity of retribution, deters from sin; and that any apparent savageness in the penal code, instead of repressing insubordination, excites to it. The spectacle of a barbarous punishment blunts the sensibility of the observer, annihilates his pliability to moral consideration, removes sympathy from the side of justice to that of an injured criminal, inflames the recreant spirit to a fearlessness of all milder penalties, and a willingness to hazard such as, though terrific, are yet uncertain and are apt, whenever inflicted, to gain flattering commiseration. The history, then, of punishment on the cross, as it detects the secret efficacy of all punishment, commends itself to the notice of all who are interested in legislating. For a different reason, it commends itself to Christians. This was the punishment inflicted on their Master. In enduring its agonies, consisted partly his atonement. If they wish to learn the cost of the atonement, they will wish to meditate on the extent of those agonies.

It has long been a point in debate, whether the Jews ever adopted this punishment, before their subjection to Rome. I. Casaubon, J. Scaliger, D. H. Muller, J. M. Dilherr, and others, have strenuously contended that they never did; and to support the negative of the question, have relied principally on two arguments, which may now be noticed.

The first argument is derived from the Hebrew language. This contains no word, denoting specifically either crucifixion or the cross; and the Rabbins, when desiring to specify either, are compelled to use a circumlocution. But what if the language has no word appropriate, in its original meaning, to the cross, or the punishment upon it? It has many general terms, which were used secondarily with this particular import. Thus the word עץ "a tree," "wood,"

may as well have been applied to the cross, as the Latin "lignum," "arbor," or the Greek "ξύλον," which were frequently applied so.* The verb יָקַע, "to be wrenched," "dislocated," etc. may be easily made to denote crucifixion, because, says Schindler, "the limbs of those who are crucified are distorted and wrenched." Gesenius accordingly construes the Hiphil of this word, "to suspend upon a stake," and the Jewish Targum translates the plural of it in 2 Sam. xxi. 6, "we will crucify." So the verb תָּלָה, "to hang," may, especially when united with עַל תֵּעֵץ, "upon the wood," denote to crucify, as well as the majority of Greek and Latin words, denoting the same. Gesenius assigns this meaning to it, in Gen. xl. 22; Deut. xxi. 23.

The second argument is derived from Jewish testimony. The Rabbins assert, that four kinds of capital punishment were used by their nation—"stoning, burning, the application of the sword, and strangling." They describe the mode of strangling, and show that it was performed without the use of wood, and without any suspension of the body. On this point, however, the Rabbins give us witness against witness; for the Targum, Ruth ch. i. v. 17, substitutes for strangling, as the fourth punishment, an altogether distinct one, "the suspension on wood." In reference to this suspension, the Codex Sanhedrim asserts, "the custom has never obtained in Israel, to fix nails in the feet or hands of the men who are hung; they are hung with their hands bound to the wood." But to this assertion it may be replied, first, in the words of Clozius, lib. i. p. 256, "the Jews did not *always* use nails in suspension, *sometimes* only cords;" secondly, after the time of Constantine, cords alone were used, and some expressions in the Targum doubtless refer to the punishment as it was then modified; thirdly, some of the Jewish writers, anxious to invalidate the proof of the Saviour's passion, were equally anxious to prove, that their countrymen so abhorred the punishment which he is pretended to have borne, as to prevent their ever being accessory to it; and this anxiety to establish a favorite dogma, as it would have driven all men, so above all, it drove the Jews to many extravagant and incredible statements.

* See the Vulgate translation, and the original Greek of Acts v. 30; x. 39; xiii. 29; Gal. iii. 13; 1 Pet. ii. 24.

There are several authors, Lipsius, Clozius, and others, who have labored, and that successfully, to prove that the Jews did punish by crucifixion. We read in Deut. xxi. 23, that the man "who is hanged, is accursed of God." Is not the same mode of hanging intended in this and the preceding verse, as in Gal. iii. 13, which seems to be a quotation from this? D. Clozius says,* "the use of the gallows, on which the man dies by means of a cord around his neck, was unknown to the Greeks, Romans, or Jews, before the time of Constantine, who substituted this mode of suspension for that by nails;" and Salmasius, after a long examination of the subject, says,† "whatever things are recorded before Constantine, about hanging upon the wood, tree, or cross, are to be applied specifically to crucifixion, the only mode of hanging which was used before that period." With this fact in view, we must interpret 2 Sam. xxi. 6—9, as an instance of crucifixion. Another instance is in Josh. viii. 29, where the king of Ai is said to have been "hung upon a tree," "*ἐπὶ ξύλου δίδυμος*," according to the Septuagint, "*the double cross*," the instrument appropriated to suspension by the hands and feet. Another proof that this was a Jewish punishment, is found in Josh. x. 26. Junius, Tremellius, and others, suppose the five kings here spoken of to have been killed *by* their suspension, and not *before* it. Be this as it may, it was a common custom to suspend the criminal's body after death. Suetonius, c. 74, records that "Julius Cæsar commanded the pirates first to be killed, and then, simply for disgrace, affixed to the cross;" and the Talmud, Sanhedrim, c. 6, testifies that condemned criminals were first punished with death, afterwards were hung. The suspension of the kings, whether prior or posterior to their death, proves that the cross was not unknown in Judea. Unequivocal evidence of the same fact is found in Josephus. He says of John Hyrcanus Alexander, prince of his nation, called also Alexander Janneus, that "eight hundred captives he crucified in the middle of the city," and that "the Jews were so careful about burials, as to take down by sunset men who had been crucified, and bury them."

This evidence, perhaps, may convince us, that the peculiar people did sometimes, it is admitted that they did not

* Tractatus de doloribus animal. Christi. p. 258.

† Epist. de Cruce. p. 427.

uniformly, nor perhaps generally, crucify their malefactors. The evidence must be heightened by the fact that other nations did the same, particularly those who exerted over Judea the most commanding influence.*

At a very early date, we hear of crucifixion among the Egyptians. Moses mentions it in Gen. xl. 19, 20, where the Vulgate translates, "*he shall suspend thee upon the cross,*" and Josephus, "*he shall deliver thee, being fixed to the cross, to be devoured by birds.*" Thucydides describes the crucifixion of a king; Justin of several women, in Egypt.

We next hear of the punishment among the Persians. See Esther ii. 23; vii. 10; ix. 14. Josephus calls the gallows here mentioned *σταυρός*. Herodotus relates, that sometimes the Persian criminal was put to death in an easier mode than that of crucifixion, and immediately after death was exhibited on the cross, so as to receive the odium of the punishment, without its agonies.

The Carthaginians seem to have been smitten with a passion for this kind of penalty. They applied it not only to the ignoble, but to the most illustrious. Valerius says, that they crucified their generals, even if just returned from victory, whenever they appeared to have been led on to victory by a bad design. Justin tells us of Bomilcar, whom he calls king of Carthage, who, while suffering all the torments of a public crucifixion, harangued the spectators with a vehement and unconquered spirit, inveighed against their crimes, and incensed them by his bitter though merited sarcasm.

The cross was early used in Assyria, according to Diodorus Siculus; in Greece, according to Plutarch, Quintus Curtius, Justinus; in Germany, according to Tacitus; and indeed in almost every land of which a history has come down to us. It is still used by Mohammedans in the East.

Livy dates its introduction into Rome, at the time of Tullus. He is probably correct; though Cicero dates it at the reign of Tarquin the Proud, who certainly applied the torture with all the zeal of one who had introduced it as a novelty. The use of it became more general, as the republic increased. We read of the crucifixion of five hundred and upwards in a single day, by Titus; of about two thou-

* For an extended discussion of this topic, see *Dissertatio Georgii Moe-hii, de supplicio crucis*. *Thesaurus Theologico-Philologicus*, 234-240.

sand at one time, by Quinctilius Varus; of about six thousand servants, by Augustus the Sicilian, the masters of the servants having previously been slain. Josephus says, that, at the destruction of Jerusalem, "room was wanting for crosses, and crosses for bodies." When nominal Christianity, however, became triumphant, this species of penalty was discarded throughout the Roman empire. As the holiest of men once endured it, a veil of hallowed remembrance was flung over it; Constantine resolved that throughout his dominions it should no longer be profaned, and he substituted for nailing upon the cross, strangulation upon the gallows, (*patibulum* instead of *crux*.) He also prohibited the breaking of the criminal's legs, because the legs of Jesus' companions in punishment were broken, and he stamped the cross on medals, coins, and the arms and ensigns of his soldiers.

The Romans applied the punishment chiefly to slaves, and therefore called it "*servile supplicium*," "*supplicium in servile modum*." A crime which would subject a soldier to decapitation, would send a slave to be crucified. "The cross, the very name of it," says Cicero pro Rab., "should be far, not only from the body of a Roman citizen, but also from his thoughts, eyes, ears. Not merely the endurance of all these cruelties, but also the condition to endure them, the expectation, yea, the mention of them, is unworthy of a Roman citizen and free man." It is indeed true that citizens, distinctively so called, were always exempt from this punishment; but mere freemen, who were not citizens, were sometimes exposed to it. No age nor sex were spared. Robbery, assassination, lying, theft, desertion from the army, and other crimes, were punished by it, and in the case of slaves, so small an offence as desertion from their master. Lardner says, "it was universally and deservedly reputed the most shameful and ignominious death to which a wretch could be condemned. In such an exit were comprised every idea and circumstance of odium, disgrace, and public scandal." Hence was the cross called "*infelix arbor*," "*infelix lignum*," "*infamus stipes*," "*damnata crux*." "From this circumstance," says Justin Martyr, "the heathens are fully convinced of our madness, in giving the second place after the immutable and eternal God and Father of all, to a person who was crucified." "We must hesitate," says Trypho, after ridiculing the weakness and sufferings of Jesus, "with regard to

our believing a person who was so ignominiously crucified, to be the Messiah ; for he fell under the greatest curse of the law of God, for it is written in the law, cursed is every one who hangeth on a tree." We perceive, then, that the apostle had a *meaning*, when he said, "Christ took upon him the form of a *servant*," Phil. ii. 7, 8 ; that "he despised the *shame*," Heb. xii. 2 ; that the preaching of the cross was to the Jew, who remembered Deut. xxi. 23, "a stumbling block," and to the Greek, who asked what good can come from a nailed, pierced malefactor, "foolishness," 1 Cor. i. 23. The celebrated climax of Cicero, derives much of its peculiar force from the ignominy of the chastisement it describes. "An order was given for his execution, for his execution upon the cross !" "It is an outrage to *bind* a Roman citizen ; to *scourge* him is an atrocious crime ; to *put him to death* is almost parricide ! but to *crucify* him—what shall I call it ?"

Nor did the dreadfulness of this death result alone from its baseness. "*Crudelissimum, teterrimumque*," Cicero characterizes it, and says, "*ab oculis, auribusque, et omni cogitatione hominum removendum esse*." For the intensity of its pangs, it was feared far more than either burning or decapitation. "If men are free citizens," says Ulpianus, "they may be given to the beasts for their crimes ; if slaves, they may be loaded with the heaviest punishment," "*supplicio summo*," "*supremo*," "*extremo*," as it was often denominated. We shall easily see that it must have been full of tortures if we attend to the structure of the instrument and the mode of applying it.*

There were two kinds of crosses ; the simple and the double. The simple cross consisted of a single timber, to which the hands and feet were bound or nailed. Hesychius says, that sometimes the criminal was made to sit upon a sharpened stake, and the stake penetrated the body, and after passing along the spine, came out at the mouth. Seneca and Plato mention this mode of "*infixion*," as distinguished from that of "*affixion*." Nicholas Fontanus says, that the cross sometimes came out at the breast instead of the mouth.

The double cross, according to Tertullian, Justin Martyr, and Jerome, was constructed in three different ways ; first, in the form of the letter X, the two beams intersecting each

* For a more extended view of the history of crucifixion, see Justi Lipsi V. C. Opera Omnia, tom. 1. pp. 1154—1172.

other in the middle, and one of the criminal's members being affixed to each section of each beam ; secondly, in the form of the letter T, the two beams crossing each other at right angles at the top, and one arm being affixed to each part of the transverse beam ; thirdly, in a form distinguished from the second by an elevation of the perpendicular beam above the transverse, the two beams remaining at right angles to each other. According to the most ancient pictures, statues, and written representations, our Saviour suffered on the double cross, made in the third form.* The perpendicular beam was distinguished from the transverse by the epithet, "tree," and this word is sometimes extended in its signification to the whole instrument. See Paul's use of it in Gal. iii. 13, and Peter's, in 1 Pet. ii. 24.

In the middle of the perpendicular beam there was a projection, called "the middle seat," upon which the sufferer rested and by which in part he relieved the pressure on his limbs. The knees being bent, and the feet being therefore incapable of supporting the body, its whole weight must rest upon the hands, and sometimes they, without the aid of this middle projection, would be insufficient to sustain their burden. Although many have denied that any such seat was in use, the authority in favor of it seems to be decisive. Justin Martyr, who lived before the punishment of crucifixion was abolished, states expressly, "in the middle of the cross there was fixed a piece of wood, as a horn, standing out, and on the horn the crucified man was as it were carried." Irenæus also speaks of the projection in the middle of the perpendicular beam, on which projection the criminal, while held up by nails, rested and relieved himself." Tertullian and Innocent mention the same, as the means of prolonging the sufferer's agony because mitigating its intenseness. The current comparisons, also, among ancient authors, of a crucified man with an equestrian, indicate the existence of the central knob. On no other principle can we understand the phrases, "to mount upon the cross," "to leap upon the cross," "to ride," (*inequitare*), "to rest upon the cross," "to be borne and carried upon it." Ordinarily the seat was smooth and easy, and according to Justin, was made to resemble the horn of an ox ; but occasionally there were sought out for the criminal some new excruciating pains, and then the seat was made rough, pointed, and sharp.

* See Justi Lipsi, *V. C. Opera Omnia*, tom. 3. pp. 1157—1169.

Gregory Turonensis, who did not write until the punishment of crucifixion had been abolished, originated the idea that there was a lower projection for the feet, that the feet were nailed to this "*tabella suppedanea*," and not to the tree or trunk of the cross, and thus the criminal, instead of having his knees bent, as without this foothold they must be, would stand no less erect and firm than if upon the ground. The Edinburgh Encyclopedists yield credence to Gregory. But Salmasius has shown, that this foot-tablet is mentioned by no writer who ever witnessed a crucifixion, that it is represented on no painting or medal of authority, and that in addition to the middle seat it was needless.*

On the top of the perpendicular beam, over the head of the malefactor, was usually placed a tablet containing the charges for which he was condemned. The tablet, according to Vossius, was covered with (*cerusa*) a kind of white paint on which letters were, not as some say, engraved, but written with ink or vitriol (*atramentum*). From the color of the tablet, it was sometimes called *λευκωμα*, and the inscription was called *τίτλος*. The inscription was sometimes in several different languages. That which Pilate wrote for Christ was in three; the Latin, as a tribute of respect to the empire, the Hebrew, that it might be understood by the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the Greek, for the accommodation of the numerous Hellenists who had come up to the feast. The inscription over the door of the sanctuary, prohibiting the entrance of foreigners, was, for a similar reason, written in different tongues. It was not an invariable rule, however, to record the accusation of the sufferer on the tablet of the cross. Occasionally it was inscribed on a parchment covering his breast, see Adams *Rom. Antiq.* p. 230, often was proclaimed by a herald going before him to the cross; see Poole *Syn.* vol. iv. p. 675.

Not more than five or six words were usually inscribed on the title-board. "*Parmularius* has spoken impiously," is a superscription preserved in Suetonius; Eusebeius mentions another; "this is Attalus, a Christian." The words

* On the subject of the "*sedilis excessus*," as Tertullian calls it, and the "*Tabella suppedanea*," or foot-stand, see Justi Lipsi, *V. C. Opera Omnia*, tom. 3. pp. 1185—1188; and also the dissertations of Bartholin, Nihusius, and Fontanus, connected with the *Hypomnemata de cruce Christi*, pp. 57—156, 264—290.

For the motives which prompted to the notion of a foot-stand, see Paulus Com. ueber die ersten Evangel. Th. Drit. 759, 760.

placed over our Saviour, are supposed to have varied in the different languages, and thus the varied representations of them by the Evangelists may be, each, correct. Each contains a provoking laconic sarcasm upon the Jews, whom Pilate hated ungovernably. Here, on the slave's cross, is your *King* ! Jesus, a man from contemptible, little Nazareth, and yet the King of all Jewry !

The height of the tree of the cross was ordinarily about ten feet. Of these, two, and sometimes three feet were sunk in the earth, so that the elevation of the criminal above the earth's surface was no more than from twelve to thirty-six inches. It was easy for the sufferer hanging on so low an instrument, to converse, as Christ did, with the by-standers, and easy for the by-standers, like them who gave Christ the impregnated "*posca*," to reach the head of the sufferer.*

According to Lipsius, the instrument was usually "made of oak, and was very durable," remaining sound in certain situations, two or three hundred years. No confidence is to be placed, however, in the pretended discovery of the Saviour's cross, by Helen, Constantine's mother, who bewildered the church with her authoritative phantasies on this theme. The far-famed and almost deified instrument, which she excavated from Calvary, was reported to be fifteen feet in height, and seven or eight in length ; and now, says a quaint author, "if all the fragments of it, which are paraded for a holy show in Catholic convents, were collected together, the whole British navy could not export them at a voyage, and they would build a magnificent palace or cathedral for the Pope."

The instrument was erected for crucifixion at some conspicuous and frequented place. Quintilian says, "as often as we crucify malefactors, we select the most celebrated roads, where the greatest possible number of witnesses can look on and be moved with fear." Polycrates selected for the scene the highest summit of the celebrated Mycale ; Alexander, the most public place in his cities ; the Mamertines resorted to the "*Pompeian way*," and in nearly all populous

* There were sometimes peculiar causes for constructing a cross of greater dimensions. Suetonius relates, that when a Roman citizen had been sentenced to the cross by Galba, and had presented his objections against the instrument, as inappropriate to a citizen, the governor ordered a very lofty cross to be erected for him, and whitened over, so as to distinguish him from those who were not citizens, "to give him some consolation, and alleviate his punishment by a mark of respect."

villages, some commanding site was consecrated to blood. The Jews, though required by Deut. xvii. 13, to inflict capital punishment so publicly that "all the people shall hear and fear," were yet forbidden by the spirit of Numb. xv. 35, and 1 Kings xxi. 13, to inflict it within the city, see Acts vii. 58, and the Romans also preferred to crucify their malefactors "without the gate." Accordingly Christ was led from the governor's palace, which was the celebrated fort of Antonia, and situated a few rods north of the temple, to Golgotha, "the skull,"—called the skull partly on account of its shape, partly because it was strowed with the bones of malefactors crucified upon it. Although without the city, as is evident from Heb. xiii. 12, it was not far without, as is evident from John xix. 20. Its distance from the fort of Antonia, or the governor's palace, where Christ stood trial, was in the shortest course about four hundred yards, and this may have been the distance which he walked to crucifixion, notwithstanding the current belief about the "*via dolorosa*."* Being near the walls, and being, moreover, an eminence, the spot was very publicly exposed. It was easy, therefore, for the priests to gaze at the suspended Messiah without defiling themselves by ascending the hill, see Matt. xxvii. 41, Mark xv. 32; for the Galilean women likewise to behold him "afar off," see Matt. xxvii. 55, Mark xv. 40, Luke xxiii. 49; and for "many of the Jews," to read the title of his accusation, even while standing on the walls of the city. There were also two public roads, one from Bethlehem, and one from Joppa, which met by the side of the mountain in its immediate neighborhood, and so travellers from the west would necessarily "pass by," and might revile the executed sufferer; see Matt. xxvii. 39; Mark xv. 29. From this publicity and also from the barrenness of Golgotha, it was a very eligible spot for executions; yet, above all others, disgraceful. To be crucified there, was as repugnant to a prisoner's feelings, as in England to be hung at Tyburn. But Christ "sought disgrace."

Having now attended to the construction of the cross, we

* The traditions in Palestine with regard to minute particulars of sacred scenes, such as the cavity for the cross-tree, the stone of unction, &c. are well understood to be fabulous: but the general belief with regard to the location of Calvary, Mount Moriah, the Temple, and Fort Antonia, is founded on rational evidence. A reply to the objections of Dr. Clarke, Dr. Richardson, Rosenmueller and others, will be found in Calmet's Dictionary, Art. Golgotha.

will turn to the mode, particularly the Roman mode, of applying it. Its application to our Saviour is the best authenticated case which we have on record, and yet in this were several irregularities. He was tried before the Sanhedrim in the night, but the Gemara expressly declares, "a trial must be conducted in presence of the sun." He was crucified on the very day connected with that night, but the Mishna says, "*pecuniary* causes are finished on the day of their commencement; *capital* causes on the same day for *absolution*, but not until the day following for *condemnation*." It was customary to defer the execution of a malefactor more than one day after his capture. Suetonius in Tiber. cap. 25, says that a law was made, during the reign of Tiberius, by which the execution was deferred ten days after the *sentence*. The words of the Gemara in relation to Christ are,* "before his execution for forty days a crier had proclaimed publicly, Jesus is to be led forth to be slain with stones, because using deceits he has turned away not only single Israelites, but also whole cities from the worship of the true God. Nevertheless if any one know any thing for preserving his life, let him produce it. Finding however nothing in his favor, they executed him." But the Evangelists teach that his capture, his first and second trial before Caiaphas, then before Pilate, his intervening examination by Herod, and his final punishment, were tumultuously crowded into a space less than fourteen hours, and he was affixed to the cross at noon, whereas the Jewish law required a delay until some hours after. Another irregularity is discovered in the scourging of Jesus. This cruelty, by rule, *followed* the condemnation, but the procurator, from a mistaken policy of working on the pity of the Jews, so that they might release the sufferer, caused the operation to *precede* the sentence.†

Among the preparatory measures regularly preceding the affixion, and designed to augment either the ignominy or the pain of it, was the subjecting of the prisoner to the tauntings and buffoonery of a mob.

* See these words quoted in Hoffman's *Processus Crim. Synedrii magni adversus Salvatorem*.

† That Jesus was scourged, previously to his condemnation, is evident from John xix. 1—16. Some have supposed from Matt. xxvii. 26; Mark xv. 15, that he was also scourged subsequently. There is no need, however, of this supposition, and no impropriety in it.

It was not at all uncommon for an ancient populace, when they had obtained possession of an unfortunate man, malefactor or not, to sport with his sensibilities. Even the Athenians did it. Paulus quotes an instance of the Persians, who annually, while celebrating a particular feast, called in one of their prisoners under sentence of death, seated him on a kingly throne, clothed him with the garments of a king, assembled around him in an attitude of mock-humility, and made the obeisance of subjects to him. Having done this, they arrayed him in his own garments, and, immediately after scourging, executed him. Similar amusement is recorded by Philo, to have been taken at Alexandria, when Herod Agrippa first visited that city with the title of king, and the citizens were filled with indignation, that a Jew should be honored with such a title. "There was," says the historian,* "one Carabas, a sort of distracted fellow, that in all seasons of the year went naked about the streets. He was somewhat between a madman and a fool, the common jest of boys and other idle people. This wretch the Alexandrians brought into the theatre, and placed on a lofty seat, that he might be conspicuous to all; then they put a thing made of paper on his head for a crown; the rest of his body they covered with a mat, instead of a robe; and for a sceptre one put into his hand a little piece of a reed, which he had just taken up from the earth. Having thus given him a mimic royal dress, several young fellows, with poles on their shoulders, came and stood on each side of him as his guards. Then there came people toward him, some to pay their homage to him, others to ask justice of him, and some to know his will and pleasure concerning affairs of state. The multitude vociferated in loud and confused acclamations, 'maris, maris,' that being, as they say, the Syriac word for 'lord,' and thus intimated whom they designed to ridicule by all this mock show; for Herod Agrippa was a Syrian, and newly appointed king of a large country in Syria."

A very similar spirit the Romans seem to have exercised toward Christ; regarding him, Paulus thinks, as a half-insane pretender to an office which he would not know how to manage, as the promulgator of a new, wild, unintelligible religion. More than a hundred of the soldiers collected

* See this quotation in Paulus, *Com. Drit. Th.* n. 732, 733.

around him in the palace court of Pilate,* and there displayed their ingenuity in heaping ridicule on him as the Jewish king, and through him on the hated nation. Their first step was to decorate his head. It was usual to crown a monarch, especially on festive occasions, with a garland of roses; the soldiers feigned that this pretender's trial was a festive occasion, and that thorns would constitute an appropriate garland. "As the rose," says Muller, "is regarded the queen among flowers, so the thorn, being the armor of the rose, is regarded the most rigid and acute among briars." The crown was not composed of mere prickles collected together, but of a stalk or shrub, braided so as to fit the head and armed all over with sharp points. Hasselquist, speaking of the *naba*, or *nabka* of the Arabians, and stating its claims to be regarded as the substance of this crown, says, "it was very fit for the purpose, for it has many small and sharp spines which are well adapted to give pain. The crown might easily be made of these soft, round and pliable branches." The next movement of the jesting soldiers was, to strip the prisoner of his tunic and outer garment, for the purpose of arraying him in the mock habiliments of royalty. To be deprived of the outer garment, or cloak as it is called in Matt. v. 40, was deemed by the orientals a peculiar disgrace. A punishment equal to that of the foulest insult or injury is prescribed in the Talmud for any one who shall inflict this disgrace. When it had been inflicted on Christ, he was arrayed in the common scarlet or crimson military robe, made of woollen cloth, fastened about the breast and neck by loops, and extending down to the knees. This was his regal robe; an ordinary club or cane was substituted for the golden sceptre of monarchs, and he then received the fashionable salutation of subjects, "All hail to you," "Long life to you," "God bless you," "King of the Jews." Finding that they do not succeed in vexing him, they became themselves vexed, and suddenly change their play and derision into abuse and violence. They load him with those very insults which were deemed by the orientals the most

* Matt. xxvii. 27, and Mark xv. 16 state, that "the whole band" assembled. The band contained according to Wahl, on an average, from 130 to 200 soldiers. It is not necessary, however, to interpret the word "*whole*," in its fullest extent, for we cannot suppose, that the fort of Antonia would be entirely deserted by its guard, particularly by a Roman guard. The style of the Evangelists allows us to *restrict* the meaning of the word, and to consider it as denoting "a great proportion," "a majority."

degrading. Compare Matt. xxvii. 26—30 and parallel passages, with the Jewish Talmud, as quoted by Gill on these passages.

Next to the mockery followed the castigation of the prisoner. This was an almost indispensable preparative for the agonies of his death. It was given at the outset, so that it should be felt through the whole succession of cruelties, as poison in the fountain tinctures the whole stream. The instrument employed was sometimes the rod, but more generally the scourge. Thus Livy, lib. xxxiii. 36, informs us of slaves, "who, after they had been whipped or scourged, were suspended on crosses;" and Philo (in Flac.) says, that "after the criminals were mangled and torn with scourges in the theatres, they were fastened to the wood." At the siege of Jerusalem "great numbers of the Jews were crucified," according to Jos. de Bel. Jud. lib. 5, c. 2, "after they had been abusively whipped and had suffered every wanton cruelty." The rods used in flagellation were made of iron or wood, and when of wood, were often covered with spines. The scourges were sometimes called "scorpions," by the Latins "*horribilia*." They were composed of thongs, with sharp pieces of iron or other metal "inserted and involved" in the braid. Eustathius and Apuleius specify the smallest bones of sheep and other animals, as supplying the place of metal, and "filling the whips" of the flagellants, and from other authority we learn, that the bones were often wrought into the shape of dice.* The backs of candidates for the cross were exposed naked to the striking of the scourge, and were sometimes penetrated by a single blow. In most instances, the candidates fainted, in many, died under the barbarous operation.

The Jewish law respecting the scourge, limited the number of lashes to forty, and the executioners dreading to exceed this limit, and choosing to be on the safe side, usually inflicted but thirty-nine. See Deut. xxv. 2, 3; 2 Cor. xi. 24. The Romans however were not thus restricted, and they often multiplied the blows to a most savage extent. It was the scourge in distinction from the rod which the Roman governor applied to Jesus; and as he applied it for the purpose of drawing from the Jews commiseration toward their prisoner, so he had liberty to continue it until he should

* Tholuck Com. zum Evan. John, s. 326.

draw commiseration from the very stones of his tower. "He made the back of Jesus red," says Nonnus, "with the horrible whip." It should always be remembered that Christ endured the Roman scourging and not the Jewish. The former was not only more painful than the latter, but also more disgraceful. All classes of Jews, even priests, if malefactors, were liable to suffer their mode of scourging; but Roman citizens were always exempt from the Roman mode; even if criminal, they were too dignified to receive any flagellation save that with the rod. Saint Paul availed himself of his free citizenship, to avoid the scourge of the centurion, see Acts xxii. 25; and another freeman is represented by Cicero as crying rightfully, but in vain, to the flagellant Verres, "I am a Roman citizen, I have served under Lucius Pretius." Jesus "was born in Bethlehem;" he could therefore claim no legal exemption from the instrument which was appropriated exclusively to slaves and dependents. He not only took upon him the form of a servant, and died the death of a slave, but also endured the preparatory stripes of a slave. "The ploughers ploughed upon his back, they made long their furrows."

In the earlier ages, the criminal received his regular flagellation while on his way to the cross. Dionysius, and Plautus speak of malefactors, who were whipped and goaded with stings as they walked to the spot where death waited to ease them of their laceration. The executioners are said to have carried behind the prisoner, thongs, rods, or poles, either sharpened at the end, or headed with iron, and to have been incessantly puncturing him, harassed, as he must have been, with the most dismal forebodings.

In the later ages, the criminal received his preparatory scourging while bound to a pillar, either in his own house, or at the pretorium. Instances are recorded of persons who were doomed to a double flagellation; one at the whipping-post, another on their way to the cross. That Christ was scourged at the pretorium, either by the governor or under his inspection, there can be no doubt. See Matt. xxvii. 26. Nor need there be doubt, but that he was scourged in the customary attitude. "Our Lord," says Prudentius, his assertion however is not quoted as authority, "stood up with his hands bound, and being tied to the column gave his back, as a slave, to the scourges." Jerome pretends, that this pillar was preserved till his own day, and was used as a

prop to a Christian temple. The Jews themselves acknowledge, that Christ was bound to a pillar, though they ascribe the act of binding him to the wrong agents. "The elders of Jerusalem," says their Mishna Bava Kama, c. 8, s. 6, "took Jesus and brought him to the city, and bound him to a marble pillar in the city, and smote him with whips, and said unto him, where are all the miracles which thou hast done?" That Christ was scourged along the "dolorous way," is indeed not so evident as that he was scourged at the court, yet it is the unbroken voice of tradition, and as prisoners less obnoxious than he were doomed to such excess of maltreatment, there is no improbability that he, as in other things so in this, endured "affliction more than was meet." Very rarely was a prisoner led to the cross without suffering on his way the basest indignity. "He was pushed, thrown down, stimulated with goads, and impelled forwards by every act of insolence and inhumanity that could be inflicted."*

Among the marks of contempt shown to the expectant of death during this scene of the tragedy, was his being doomed to carry his own cross. The mode in which he carried it, was not uniform. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Antiq.* 7, p. 453,) says, "the executioners led forward the slave to punishment, stretched out both his hands, and tied the cross to his wrists, shoulders, and breast, so that he may carry it firmly bound to him." Sometimes it was borne on the shoulder without the use of any ligament. Not unfrequently only the smaller, lighter part of it, the transverse beam was imposed upon him, and in some cases, he was exempted entirely from the cumbersome load. It must have been a peculiar task, for a man almost spent by fear, smarting from the lashes of the thong, fainting from the consequent loss of blood, and hauled about to the right hand and the left by an insulting rabble, to carry in such circumstances the instrument of his impending agonies. But the difficulty of it was not equal to the disgrace. No epithet was so reproachful as "furcifer," "the cross-bearer." Plutarch illustrates the miseries of sin, by showing that every species of it produces its own peculiar torments, just as the wretch driven on to crucifixion carries his own engine of woe. No wonder that the bearer so often fell down groaning under

* Lipsius, 1180, tom. 3.

the weight of his instrument, the pressure of his ignominy, distresses, and forebodings.

Our Saviour's cross was placed upon him when he started from the fort for Golgotha. The instruments of death were usually deposited in or near the fort. It appears from the history, that he was unable to carry the machine far, and was relieved from it, not partially, as several commentators say, but altogether. His distress for several days had been severe, see John xii. 27; during the last night it had operated so powerfully upon his animal system, as to cause a profuse perspiration, while he was standing without exercise in the cold open air; notwithstanding the feebleness which must have been induced by this unprecedented mental agony, he had been allowed no rest during the night; had been compelled with all his weariness, to stand up at least three hours in the uncomfortable court-room,* and to be there harassed by impertinent and impudent judges; had been, on the morning of Friday, driven handcuffed from palace to palace, from mountain to mountain, and subjected to the most mortifying insult and derision; had at last been scourged with Roman severity and to a degree which even a Roman governor hoped would excite the pity of *enemies*, of enemies among blood-thirsty Jews. No wonder then that he was exhausted, and, in view of what he was soon to encounter on the cross, was too faint to carry the onerous load.

As a title was affixed to the tree of the Saviour's cross, there was probably, notwithstanding the figments in the Talmud, no crier or herald accompanying him to the scene of death. Whenever the crier was employed, he sometimes proclaimed the crime of the prisoner, directly; thus, "Polycarp has confessed that he is a Christian;" sometimes indirectly, by uttering a moral admonition, from which the multitude may easily infer the crime to be expiated; thus, "never swear rashly," an annunciation for a perjured man; "let no plebeian take rough hold of a Roman ambassador," for an assailant; "fumo punitur, qui fumum vendidit," for

* Thursday night was cold, John xviii. 18; the court-room was the area of Caiaphas' palace, and doubtless was large; the fire vessel was in the lower part of the spacious room, or at least the middle of it, Mark xiv. 54, 66, Luke xxii. 55; while Jesus, according to the custom of the Sanhedrim, was with them in the upper part. See Jahn's Arch. on the construction of houses, also on the sessions of the Sanhedrim.

one to be burnt as a public deceiver. The Talmud, *Babyl. San.* fol. 43. 1. prescribes the formula used by the herald among the Jews. "The crier went before the candidate for death, and said, 'such a man, the son of such a man, because he has been proved guilty of such a crime, at such a place, on such a day, is now to be slain. The witnesses of his crime are such and such an one. If any person can clear him of the charge, let him speak.' If one said, I have something to say in his favor, the prisoner was brought back to the Sanhedrim, and if found innocent, dismissed; but if not, was carried back to execution."

When the procession had arrived at the destined spot, and while the prisoner was waiting the erection of the cross, he was presented with a stupifying and intoxicating draught. "The tradition is," see the extract from the Talmud in Lightfoot, tom. 2, p. 386, "that the honorable women of Jerusalem provided this draught at their own expense." Sometimes it was the richest wine mingled with spices, the most delicious species of the "mixed wine." Sometimes it was the ordinary strong drink, or "*sikera*," a very powerful liquid, made of dates and various seeds and roots. Ordinarily, however, it was the poor, dead, sour wine, or vinegar, saturated with myrrh, gall, wormwood, and other inebriating articles; an inferior species of the "mixed wine," which is proscribed in several Scriptures. This vinegar, when mingled with water, was denominated "*posca*," was a common beverage among the poorer classes, and the prescribed one of the Roman soldiers. The effect of either beverage was to produce rapid intoxication, and thereby benumb the sensibilities.* "When a man is led forth to be executed," says Tr. Sanhedrim, c. 6, "there is given to him a grain of frankincense in a cup of wine, that his understanding may be disturbed; as it is said, Prov. xxxi. 6, "Give strong drink to one that is ready to perish, and wine to those that be of heavy heart."

The "*posca*," when made intoxicating, was offered to Jesus, probably by his executioners, though some suppose by his female friends. Matthew says, (xxvii. 34.) that they offered him "*vinegar*," cheap wine, "mingled with *gall*," the term gall not being literal here, but meaning any thing bitter.

* See Jahn's *Archæology*, p. 141, p. 163; also Poole's *Synopsis*, vol. iv. p. 674.

Mark calls the liquid (xv. 23.) "*wine*," the same as the vinegar of Matthew, "mingled with *myrrh*," the species being again put for the genus, the part for the whole, and the myrrh of Mark, like the gall of Matthew, denoting simply a bitter impregnation. Jesus barely applied the liquid to his palate, but discovering the nature of it, and choosing to die with his faculties unimpaired, refused to drink. He dreaded, above all things, to deliver himself in such a way from his cup of sorrow.*

We must be careful to distinguish the first offer of a beverage to Jesus, from the two succeeding offers. The first was a customary act of kindness, and performed by the rough executioner, because aware that the severities of the cross demanded some alleviation. The second, which is recorded in Luke xxiii. 36, was an offer of nothing but the soldier's *posca*, and was designed by the Romans for an insult and mockery. The third, which is recorded in Matt. xxvii. 48, Mark xv. 36, John xix. 29, was an offer of the same liquid, lying by in a vessel for the use of the executioners, but was made by a Jew, in consequence of the sufferer's exclamation, "I thirst," and not, as the second, by the Roman military, from motives of wanton sport.

The preparatory step immediately preceding crucifixion, was to divest the prisoner of his clothing. "Naked came he into the world," was the Jewish motto, "and naked must he go out." "To be crucified is good for the poor man," says Artemidorus, "because he is then lifted up; but evil for the rich, because he is then made naked." All the property which Christ had, was the clothes upon his back; these, however, must be taken away, and given to his four murderers.† His "over-coat," or cloak, being a square sheet, of

* Perhaps both the myrrh and gall were actual ingredients in the bowl offered to the Saviour. Chrysostom, Theophylact, Jerome, Augustine, and others, read in Matt. xxvii. 34, *οἶνον*, instead of *ὄξος*, and suppose that Jesus received the rich, pleasant wine, mingled with aromatic substances, and used principally by the luxurious. Michaelis supposes that, as this beverage, though relieving pain for a short time, would on the whole augment it, and especially increase the sufferer's thirst, which was his severest torment, it was refused by the Saviour, in great measure, from his foresight of its ultimate effects. The "*posca*" was cooling and refreshing; Jesus applied his lips to the proffered liquid, with a hope that he should find it the "*posca*," but when his taste had disappointed him, he would not drink.—See Mich. Anmer. zu Matt. xxvii. 34.

† It is nowhere stated, that the crown of thorns was taken from the Saviour's head, and the most ancient paintings represent him as crucified with the severe braid upon him. Whether the representation is correct, we do not know, the paintings being without authority.

five or six cubits in length, and five or six feet in breadth, and composed of four distinct parts, was easily divided among the four soldiers who crucified him ; but the undercoat, or tunic, was determined by lot to one of the quaternion. It could not be divided, for it was made in resemblance of the high priest's garment, which is thus described by Josephus, *Ant.* l. 3, c. 8 : "This vesture was not composed of two pieces, nor was it sewed together upon the shoulders and the sides ; but it was one long vestment, so woven as to have an aperture for the neck. It was also parted where the hands were to come out." The practice of distributing the prisoner's garments, and other effects, among his executioners, was prescribed by law, and in consequence of the peculiar reluctance of a Jew to part with his cloak, and of every oriental to be left entirely unclothed, was deemed a signal disgrace. Indeed, in every stage of this complicated punishment, the ingenuity of avengers has been racked, to invent the most mortifying, as well as harrowing expedients.

The manner of nailing to the cross has been long involved in dispute. Was the instrument erect, when it received its victim, or taken down to the ground ? It would doubtless be easier to fasten the bodies on the horizontal wood, than to lift them, heavy as they were, and sometimes resisting, to the perpendicular. The easier method was therefore often used. It put a speedier termination to life than the other. The hole was excavated in the earth for the beam to enter, the instrument was raised with the tortured victim nailed to it, and then was suddenly and violently precipitated into the prepared cavity. The precipitation was violent, so as, first, to fix the cross firmly in the earth ; secondly, to give a convulsive shock to the suspended criminal, and thus sooner wear out his system. Pionius, the martyr, was crucified in this way, for we read that, "having stripped himself of his own accord, he gazed upwards, and rendered thanks to heaven, then stretched himself out upon the cross, that he might be nailed to it, and after he was nailed, the cross was erected."*

Still this cannot have been the general custom. The current phraseology pertaining to the punishment implies,

* On the mode of crucifixion, see Horne's *Introduction*, vol. iii. pp. 149—150 ; Jahn's *Archæology*, p. 261 ; Lipsius, vol. i. pp. 1188—1208 ; Bartholin's *Essays* ; and Paulus. *Com. u. d. drey. Evang. Sz.* 755—770.

that the wood was erected before the victim was fixed to it. If it were not so, what mean such expressions as "to raise to the cross," "to ascend," "mount," "leap upon the cross?" What was done when, as often, the perpendicular beam remained stationary, and only the transverse was moveable? * What was done when the cross was a tree? Cicero, in his orations for Rabirius and against Verres, frequently speaks of elevating the instrument before the affixion, and Josephus, in his Wars of the Jews, book vii. 6, 4, says, the Roman general ordered his soldiers "to set up a cross as if he were going to hang Eleazer upon it immediately." Many other incidental proofs of the same general custom, are scattered throughout the ancient histories. "Painters," Calmet remarks, "commonly represent the cross as lowered when our Saviour was fastened to it," but they decidedly oppose in this, as in numerous other particulars, the great majority of historians. Nonnus the poet writes, "when the wood was lifted up from the earth, and high, he (Christ) was stretched out erect upon it," and Gregory Nazianzen merely utters the most approved opinion, when he says, "the cross was placed erect, and then the Saviour adjusted to it.

Four men were generally employed to conduct the crucifixion; "four military men," Josephus says, "because used to slaughter and to blood." Each operator nailed one limb, and the two who nailed the hands, stood on ladders raised to the cross-piece, or, more frequently, on a small elevation of turf or stones, from which, if it were only a foot high, they could easily reach the loftiest part of the instrument. In the earlier ages of the republic, the business of crucifixion was assigned to the lictors, and in all ages the men who performed it, were regarded with awe and dread.

Jahn states (Arch. p. 261.) that no ancient writer whatever describes crucifixion as performed without the use of nails; but Lipsius de Cruce, p. 1183, quotes authorities from Pliny, Livy, and Artemidorus, to show, that the crucified wretch was affixed by ropes together with nails, often; † and

* See Dobson's Encyclopedia, Art. Cross.

† "Whenever the hands were feared to be unable to sustain the body, one rope was employed, binding each arm to the horizontal beam; one also was cast about the victim's breast, under the shoulders, and then tied behind the perpendicular beam;" Lipsius. Polycarp requested of his executioners, when preparing to nail him, that he might be bound merely; for "without the use of nails, the same Being who had permitted his death by fire," his cross being also a stake, "would endow him with strength to bear it." He was therefore merely bound.

occasionally by ropes alone. It may be questioned, whether among the more ancient Hebrews, the use of ligaments was not *more* common than that of irons. It was certainly more appalling. It protracted the horrors of death, and added to the intensity as well as the duration of the pains, particularly of hunger and thirst. There is no doubt, however, but that irons were the more common instruments in all the Roman empire. "The cross," says Artemidorus, "consists of wood and spikes."

Dathe, Paulus, Kuinoel, and several English commentators, have said, that only the hands were nailed in crucifixion, and that the feet were left to swing loosely, or else tied to the tree. When Christ, therefore, just risen from the dead, attempts to convince the disciples of his personal identity, he shows them nothing but his hands and side, see John xx. 20, 25, 27. Why did he not show them his feet also, if they contained the scars of the nails; for the feet were bare, and on another occasion (Luke xxiv. 40.) were shown as readily as the hands? The arguments of Paulus (Com. vol. iii. 764—770.) are plausible, and sometimes, for aught we know, the method which he defends may have been adopted. The testimony against it, however, as the common method, is so decisive, that Psalm xxii. 16, must be regarded literally correct even in a general application.

Nonnus, Gregory Nazianzen, and multitudes of painters and sculptors have represented, that three nails, and only three, were used in crucifixion, that the victim's feet were placed one over the other, and were both perforated by a single iron. It is doubtless true, that occasionally, for the purpose of increasing pain, the limbs of the prisoner were thus crossed, not usually, however, nor often. Augustine, Theodoret, and Cyprian, which last was a frequent witness of crucifixions and therefore better authority, than most writers, state that one nail was employed on each foot as well as one on each hand, and that the feet, though not sustaining much of the body's weight, were separate from each other.*

* It has been believed for centuries, that the four nails employed upon our Saviour, were subsequently found by Helen; that one of them was thrown into the Adriatic sea to calm its raging; another was inserted into the helmet of her son Constantine, and after securing for him through life an impregnable defence, was sent to Jerusalem; a third and fourth were inserted in the bridle of his war-horse, thus fulfilling Zech. xiv. 20, and were afterwards sent, for sacred exhibition, to two cities of his empire. See a very sober account of this superstition in the Essay of F. Cornelius Curtius, pp. 86—91, connected with Bartholini Hypomnemata de cruce Christi,

Plautus and Gregory also state, "two nails were inserted in the palms and two in the soles." It was not, however, a uniform practice to perforate the palm of the hand; sometimes the wrist, because thought stronger, was perforated in its stead. Nor was the number of nails in the upper members limited by rule to two; occasionally for the purpose of giving the body a more tenacious hold on the wood, or of increasing pain, several irons were driven through the arms, and, in cases like that of Philomenus, through the head. The right hand was usually perforated first. Lucian, in one of his dialogues, describes Vulcan as saying to Mercury, "Let Prometheus be crucified. Well, says Mercury to Prometheus, extend your right arm; you, Vulcan, bind it, make it fast, keep it still, and bravely apply the hammer. Give also the other arm, Prometheus, and let that be rightly bound." This quotation suggests the practice of binding the limbs before nailing them; a precautionary movement which could not be dispensed with, unless the prisoner would sit still on the middle seat, or unless a ladder was erected for him against the tree, or, as was sometimes done, he was held in the arms of two or three attending soldiers.

No one, acquainted with the physiology of the human system, can fail to perceive that the cross, thus formed and applied, was adapted to produce intense pain. The sufferer's back, lacerated by the scourge, and therefore not bearing to be touched, was made to graze upon the tree. The arms were unnaturally distended and stretched behind, and so the *least* movement caused the sharpest pain. The hands, being provided with an unusual number of nerves, and the nerves being the organs of sensation, being also more sensitive in the hands than in other parts, it must have been indescribably distressing to have these excitable members transfixed by the large, rough, and ragged spike; to have the bulk of the body rest upon them, while they are grated by the iron, and grated still more poignantly by every struggle for relief. The restorative principle in the system could not operate in their favor; for the nervous restlessness of the agonized man would be constantly renewing the sore, and the exposure of the raw wounds to the air would be constantly increasing the inflammation, and causing the maimed parts to swell with more and more exquisite distress. The veins, by the pressure upon them, could not allow passage for the blood which had flown through the arteries; the vessels of the head,

therefore, were swollen with an unusual and undue amount of the fluid ; the face was deeply flushed ; the organs of it were strained ; all the cerebral system disordered and laboring. The stomach became overcharged with blood, and thereby imminently exposed to mortification. As the crowded arteries could find no sure outlet, they could no longer serve as a channel for the vital fluid which the heart endeavored to propel, and so the heart itself was obstructed in its movements. It had been wont to send a regular supply of blood into the lungs, for purification ; it now sent but a meagre supply, and that at irregular intervals. Thus the respiratory functions, as well as the circulating and cerebral, were confused, and not an organ of the system could play with its usual freedom. This pressing and crowding of the fluid in the arteries and in all the large vessels about the heart, this irksome, inconstant palpitation of the central organ, this heaving and gasping of the lungs, created an excitement, an uneasiness, an anxiety, which are said to be "far more intolerable than even death itself." Sometimes the rain poured down in torrents upon the naked body ; at night, the dew, as cold, and well nigh copious as rain, covered and chilled it ; sometimes the heat of a powerful sun dried and scorched it ; sometimes the keen winds of winter were piercing the fresh wounds, and filling the unfed system. And there was no hiding from the inclemencies of the sky ; there was no turning of the body for ease ; every attempt to move was rebuked by a keener pain from the spikes. Hunger set in, and gnawed upon the vitals ; thirst was parching up the mouth and throat ; the Saviour's only cry from pain was, "I thirst," and it was the customary cry, for no pain was so intense, or would sue so quickly for relief ; the external, the internal parts were alike in distress, and the distress was of that kind which increases by continuance. The hope that the severest had been endured, would of itself have mitigated severity. But now there was no hope, save in death, and this was "long in coming." The thought, not less than the thing itself, of being *fixed* to all these growing agonies, added intensity to them all. The thought of the divine curse against "every one who hangeth on a tree," added still more. It was generally a condemning conscience which, like the soldier's spear upon Jesus, pierced the side of the malefactor. No hope for this world, less for the world to come. Might some priest of religion but breathe

comfort into his harrowed spirit, death, his last, haggard hope, would be divested of half its stings. But he was regarded an outlaw; the priests, above all men, feared his defilement,* and left him to sigh and moan to the winds. A licentious rabble often surrounded him, laughed at the grimaces and contortions which indicated his anguish, and returned raillery to his "groanings which could not be uttered." The man was lifted up between heaven and earth, deserted by all that was consoling in either, and pierced through and through by arrows from both. Such was his exit. Just so was the iron gate of eternity opened upon him.†

As the extremities of the system, and not the seat of life, were directly touched by the instruments, the victim died, as might be expected, a fearfully lingering death. The crucifixion of an Algerine, is thus described by one of its spectators, (*Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, vol. vii. part i. p. 211.) "The criminal was nailed to a ladder, by iron spikes through his wrists and ankles, in a posture resembling St. Andrew's cross, (X) and, as if apprehensive that the spikes would not hold, from failure of his flesh, the executioners had bound his wrists and ankles with small cords to the ladder. Two days I saw him alive in this torture, and how much longer he lived I cannot tell." Lipsius says, (p. 1188, vol. iii.) that Victorinus, when hung with his head downwards, lived two days; that Timotheus and Maura completed their martyrdom in triumph, after having hung nine days. The apostle Andrew is said to have lived three days, while bound, not nailed to the deadly machine, and to have spent a great part of the three in religious exhortation. The amount of strength which sometimes remained in the mangled subject, is evidenced by Bomilcar, upbraiding his subjects for a long time, and with a stentorian voice, for their barbarity; and also by the agonized wretches mentioned by Seneca, "*qui ex patibulo spectatores suos conspuerunt.*" Sometimes the victim, when taken down, recovered his health.

* The *Edinburgh Encyclopedists* say, that probably, at Rome, either a bell was attached to the cross, or else a crier went before the victim with a bell in his hand, for the purpose of forewarning priests and magistrates of their exposedness to be polluted, if they should come near the procession. This, however, seems to be rather conjectural.

† Consult, on the subject of the pains of crucifixion, the extracts from the medical testimony of Richter, in *Jahn's Arch.* p. 262; also *Horne's Introduction*, vol. iii. pp. 149—159.

"I returned from a certain street in the city," says Josephus, "and saw many of the Jews crucified, and knowing three of them, with whom I was once intimate, I grieved very much in mind, and with tears went out, and spoke to Titus. He immediately ordered them to be taken down, and to be attended very carefully. Two of them died under the care; one survived."

So tardy, indeed, was death on the cross, that many have ascribed it not so much to the wounds, as to the slow workings of famine. Eusebius details an account of some martyrs crucified in Egypt, whose appearance unequivocally indicated starvation, as the principal cause of their death. Doubtless, in all cases, the want of aliment was an effective aid to the various other agents, conspiring to wear down the body. "The victims," says Salmasius, "were finished *on* the cross, not altogether *by* it." The blood fell drop by drop, so cautiously and gradually, that no part of the system could give way, without its appropriate and distinctly recognised pang.

"And Pilate marvelled if Jesus were already dead," for he had been suspended only three hours, and it was almost unprecedented for one to die so soon. Why indeed was it, that he could not survive longer? Why was it, that he did not, while hanging on the cross, exhort to repentance as zealously, and boldly, and manfully as some of his disciples? Why say so little, and that little in tones so low, so much unlike a conqueror? And when he did swell his voice to a louder note, why was it to exclaim *Eli, Eli, lama sabacthani*? What! shall a slothful servant confide in God, and burst out, with triumphant assurance, "When my father and mother forsake me, then the Lord will take me up," and shall a faithful son be left to wailing, and to cry, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful?" Had not God promised a thousand times, that he would never forsake a friend in trouble? Why then shall this best-beloved friend distrust the promise, and bewail a desertion? Be it ever remembered, that hundreds of penitent sinners, in our own day, have died more triumphantly than Christ; hundreds who were to be saved "*scarcely*," "so as by fire," have feared less, recoiled less. Be it ever remembered, that multitudes even of the more delicate sex, that many children of both sexes have suffered

tortures externally as intense as those of Jesus, perhaps more so, and have felt none of his dejection. While bound to the rack and the wheel, while tied to the stake and consumed by slow fires, while lingering whole days and nights on the cross, pelted there with volleys of stones, attacked by rapacious beasts, bereft of the consciousness which Christ enjoyed of entire sinlessness; in fine, thousands of transgressors, while enduring every combination of distress which could be contrived by the maddened genius of persecuting tyrants, have triumphed; have triumphed in the very man who was so severely depressed in his sufferings; triumphed in the very depression of that man; and while their own feelings at death were so different from his, have venerated him as a model in all their duties, and yet have triumphed in the difference between his death and theirs. How can these things be? saith Nicodemus, a ruler in modern Israel. Is it right, to clap our hands at sight of the cross and its bleeding victim? So we are commanded to do. See 1 *Thess.* v. 16; *Gal.* vi. 14, etc. But is it not strange, to glory in the weakness rather than the strength of a champion; in the blood rather than the brilliancy and heroism of a conqueror? Herein is the enigma of Christianity. Here is the faith of the saints.

The prescribed custom was to leave the crucified man to the operation, however prolonged, of his torture. The Romans, however, often deviated from this custom, and adopted various means of expediting the criminal's death. They suspended him sometimes in an oblique posture, sometimes in the reversed perpendicular, with his head downwards. "And Peter," Abdias relates, "approaching the cross, asked that he might be fixed upon it, with his feet turned upward." "Rejoice," exclaims Chrysostom, in view of it, "rejoice, oh Peter! for you have tasted the privilege of the cross, and desired to taste it in imitation of your Master; not, however, as he hung in an upright posture, but with your head downwards, and feet aloft, as if you were preparing to journey from earth to heaven." The martyr Calliopius, and several Egyptian martyrs, suffered the same inverted crucifixion. The suspended wretches were often doomed to be surrounded with slow fires, to be suffocated by the smoke of green wood, sometimes to be consumed on and with their gibbet. Not unfrequently were they exposed

to the crows,* vultures,† dogs, wolves, and the most ferocious beasts of prey. Sometimes they were transfixed with a lance; Marcellianus and Marcus were; criminals, in Mohammedan countries (to which countries crucifixion is now chiefly confined), are required to be. Our Saviour was transfixed, probably in his left side, though painters specify the right. The lance penetrated his pericardium, and one of the ventricles of his heart. From the pericardium came forth the serous, watery liquid, which is collected in an unusual quantity at death, but which always surrounds the heart, and keeps its surface from becoming dry. Blood came forth from the ventricle, and thus John saw what appeared to be blood and water, and what satisfied the doubting spearman, that Jesus must have already deceased. Sometimes the legs of the sufferer were broken, by striking the joints with a mallet, sledge, or heavy bar of iron. This breaking of the legs (*crurifrangium*) was also a distinct punishment. The legs of the criminal were placed on an anvil, and fractured with a heavy hammer. Twenty-three Christians under Dioclesian suffered in this way; “both the Apollinares, father and son;” vast numbers of slaves also, women and children. The Jews uniformly adopted some such means to secure the death of their malefactors; for the law, Deut. xxi. 22, 23, forbade that any one, defiled and accursed by crucifixion, should remain out of his grave beyond a single day.

The Roman statute required, that the malefactor should hang exposed to the sun and air until his body had corrupted; that he should then be neither burnt nor interred, but thrown upon the earth’s surface, or else‡ “dragged with a hook, and cast into the Tiber,” or some other stream. Here was another item in the ignominy of this punishment.

Privation of sepulture was anciently regarded one of the sorest of evils. There was thought to be no peace for the soul, so long as there was no grave for the body. Hence the relatives of a crucified man were restlessly eager for his burial, and were wont, if opportunity presented, to steal the corpse and inter it. It was chiefly to prevent this theft, that

* *Pasces in cruce corvos.* Hor. Ep. 16, v. xlviii. l. 1.

† *Vultur, jumento et canibus, crucibusque relictis.*

Ad foetus properat, partemque cadaveris affert. Juv. sat. xiv. v. 77, 78.

‡ *Adam’s Rom. Ant.* p. 228.

sentinels were appointed to guard the body. A soldier, whom Petronius Arbiter mentions, watching a cross during the night, clearly discerned the torches of the crucified man's relatives, who came privily for his corpse, and at last succeeded in obtaining it. Ordinarily, the four soldiers who nailed the victim were stationed as his sentinels. It was so in the case of Jesus, "and sitting down, they watched him there." The sufferer's friends, likewise, often watched him, to protect him from the depredations of villains, or of birds and beasts of prey. The story of the Ephesian matron attending the cross, is well known; but nothing can be more touchingly painted than the perseverance of Rizpah, whose two sons, together with five of their father's grandsons, were hung by the Gibeonites, "on the hill before the Lord." "And Rizpah, the daughter of Aiah, took sackcloth, and spread it for her upon the rock, from the beginning of harvest, until water dropped upon them from out of heaven, and suffered neither the birds of the air to rest upon them by day, nor the beasts of the field by night." Six months she watched them, with a mother's faithfulness. The female friends of Jesus continued to look on him "until a great stone was laid at the door of his sepulchre," and himself secured.

It must not be supposed, however, that the statute forbidding burial was beyond the reach of an exception. The government of each province had power to grant the interment of any crucified man, when his relatives or near friends requested it. The statement of Jahn, (*Arch.* p. 261.) that rulers were reluctant to bestow this favor, that they reserved it for festive occasions, and then for very few individuals, is abundantly contradicted by the history of that date. Cicero specifies it as one of the crimes of Verres' administration, that having torn sons from the embrace of their parents and led them to death, he demanded money from their parents for permission to bury them. It is recorded, too, as one of the most atrocious cruelties of Tiberius, in the latter part of his reign, that he generally refused interment to those whom he had condemned to die. In each of these cases, "*exceptio probat regulam.*" Augustine, in the tenth book of his own life, mentions the custom of permitting relatives to take down and inter corpses from the gibbet, as a custom frequently observed by himself. Ulpian, in his treatise on the duty of a proconsul, prescribes, "the bodies of men condemned to

death must not be denied to their relatives ;” and Paulus, about the same time, “ they must be given to any who wish to inter them.” The Jews, though not allowed to bury an executed criminal in an honorable way, in the sepulchre of his fathers, (see Lightfoot, tom. ii. p. 56.) were yet so scrupulous about burying him in some way, that they applied regularly for the privilege, and very seldom do we read of their being denied. Their feelings and laws toward one who had been accursed on the cross, were treated by the emperor, as he endeavored to treat the religions of nearly all his provinces, and as it was politic that he should do, with habitual deference. Accordingly, when a member of the Jewish Sanhedrim made application for the body of Jesus, the application was granted without delay, and he who suffered as a criminal, though without the shadow of a crime, was admitted into a new tomb of a rich and honorable counsellor.

He was buried. There was the last of him thought the Jews. They had longed for his crucifixion, because nothing could be so conclusive a proof against his Messiahship. Now the proof has been given. The memory of a crucified man must be forever odious. The disgrace will cleave like the leprosy to all his relatives, to the remotest generation. Was it ever known that a favorite of heaven incurred the hot displeasure of the lawyers, and judges, and priests, and elders of the favored nation? Can it be conceived, that such a favorite should be left by heaven to such a death? Was it ever heard or dreamed, that the posterity of such a man should have recovered from the shame entailed on them, or that in all coming time they can rival the posterity of sinners however base, who have died another death?

This was the specious reasoning of many an honest Jew. It *was* specious. There was a fearful amount of incidental testimony against the entombed prisoner. Who are his friends? Can their judgment be received as authority? “ Have any of the rulers or of the Pharisees believed on him? ” There are learned men in the nation, men of sound practical sense, acute discernment, inquisitive, candid, enlarged mind ; on whose side are they ? There are men of affluence and power, educated under all the advantages of Roman schools, and intrusted by the Roman emperor with the highest offices in the province ; on whose side are they ? Is it not probable that they are right ? The pageantry, the wealth, the honor,

the judgment, the learning, the established religion of the whole land are against the Nazarene. There were twelve fishermen once in his favor, but "they all forsook him and fled." The youngest, the mildest of the twelve, is now the only one who dares to avow his discipleship. Look at the beggarly census of the adherents to the sufferer; how ominous of the modern statistics of the church! "And there were also women looking on—*afar off*—among whom was—Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James the less, and of Joses; and Salome," "and many other women which came up with him unto Jerusalem." And is this to be the conqueror of the world? And is this the retinue of the "most mighty"? Where, when, how can he "dash the nations to pieces, as a potter's vessel"?

According to modern habits of judging, Christianity must now be "as good as dead." Even if the prisoner had been a favorite of the Jews, his prospects would be dark; for the Jews were a small, subjugated, singular, despised people, and would go forth at fearful odds against the world. What then can be expected of a man born in a little city of this little province, educated in the most contemptible part of this contemned and hated nation, proclaimed a Nazarene by way of scorn, and himself scorned more than all other Nazarenes, scorned by the Nazarenes themselves, hunted down as a beast by the only people whom he could expect to honor him, and whose honor after all, would be unavailing; at last when he had endured every opprobrium which could set him forth as contemptible in life, sealing, as it would seem, his eternal infamy by a death than which nothing can be conceived more infamous. *What* hope for such a man against the legions of a confederated empire? above all, what hope now he is dead?

And yet the authority of this dead man, within a very few years, triumphs over the prejudice of philosophic Greece and belligerent Rome; "his doctrines continue to gain ground on every hand, till at last the proud monuments of Pagan superstition, consecrated by the worship of a thousand years, and supported by the authority of the most powerful monarchies in the world, fall one after another at the approach of his disciples, and before the prevailing efficacy of the new faith. A little stone becomes a mountain, and fills the whole earth. All the nations of Europe in successive ages—Greek, Roman, Barbarian—glory in the

name of the humble Galilean; armies greater than those which Persia in the pride of her ambition led forth to conquest, are seen swarming into Asia, with the sole view of getting possession of his sepulchre, while the East and the West combine to adorn with their treasures the stable in which he was born, and the sacred mount on which he surrendered his precious life."* Indeed the very instrument which was designed to perpetuate his shame, soon waved in glory on the towers of the capitol; "by this sign," and this alone did the mistress of the world prosecute her conquests, and the identical wood on which he bled was deemed by whole nations an object of worship.

ARTICLE III.

CLASSICAL STUDY, AS A PART OF A LIBERAL EDUCATION.

THE value of classical study, as a part of a liberal education has been, within a few years, the subject of much discussion. This can have occasioned no surprise to those who have been observant of the peculiar characteristics and movements of the present age. This is a time when every thing is questioned and discussed; and every question and discussion are made common, as the air we breathe. No principle in theory, or measure in practice, is suffered to escape. Every old foundation, whether in religion, or philosophy, or education, or the conduct of life, is assailed. The greater the reverence in which it has been held by those before us, the less title is it supposed to have to the respect of the present generation. Its very antiquity, which has hitherto thrown a sanctity around it, now exposes it to derision. There seems to be in some a kind of Turk-like

* Russell's Palestine, p. 20, see Morehead's Dialogues on Nat. and Rev. Relig. p. 241.

spirit, which would delight to undermine and throw down every beautiful structure, which had been the work and admiration of generations that are past. Can it be wonderful, that in this general attack, classical learning has not escaped? And shall it be any disparagement to it, that it has met with that fortune which has befallen even Christianity, and natural religion itself? Should we not rather, if it had passed unnoticed, have inferred that it was regarded as unworthy of notice? Would not the satire of neglect have been the keenest possible?

Not that we would be understood, as speaking in disparagement of the age in which we live. We honor the spirit of the age. We honor the spirit of free inquiry, of independent thinking, that is abroad. We are willing, that every old foundation should be tested; assured, that, if it is laid in truth, it will stand every assault; and wishing, that, if laid in error, it might be removed, and all that is built upon it, demolished. We have full confidence in the power of truth; and an unhesitating belief, that, if all the elements of opinion were reduced to a state of utter chaos, there would but arise, from the general confusion, another system of equal symmetry and beauty. Christianity stands far stronger now, than she stood before the attacks of modern infidels; and all their remaining opposition will but aid in perfecting and extending the knowledge of religious truth. In like manner, every attack upon a sound system of philosophy, or a proper method of education, will but leave it the better established.

This result may already be perceived to some extent in regard to classical learning. The discussion respecting its value has had on each side able champions, who have fully exhibited the strength of their cause; and one of our New England institutions, yielded, for a time, so far to what it believed to be the popular voice, as not to insist on a course of classical study, as a pre-requisite for the honors of the institution. But it was soon found, that the sense of the intelligent public had been mistaken; and that the community demanded an acquaintance with ancient learning, in those who profess to be educated men. The discussion seems to be now passing away; and there has perhaps never been a time, when classical education stood on so broad and firm a basis in our country, as at the present; never a period which has promised to do more in its behalf, than that which has just been commenced.

This is then a time peculiarly favorable for the investigation of the great principles upon which classical education should be conducted. The protracted discussion has placed the subject before us in the various attitudes, which can be given it by both friends and enemies; while the prospects before us animate by the encouragement, that such an investigation would not be mere speculative inquiry, and that what might be fixed in principle, would be realized in practice.

Perhaps the subject may be brought before us in the form best adapted to our present purpose, by the inquiry, "What are the great objects which the student should seek, and expect to attain in a course of classical study?" An attempt to answer this question will involve a general view of the method to be pursued, and the advantages which will result; while to go farther into the details of the course, than this question will carry us, would be better suited to the lecture-room, than to the pages of a quarterly; and there is an objection to treating professedly of the *advantages* of a classical education, from the unhappy effects which have often followed.

The lovers of the classics have often depicted the advantages which result from their study in such glowing colors, and with such indiscriminating strength of assertion, that many who have heard or read, have supposed that these advantages flow from the study of the ancient authors, as necessarily, and as spontaneously, as water from a fountain; and that all there is for them to do, is to be at the fountain, ready to drink from the inspiring stream. As the manner and spirit in which they should study, have not been insisted on, they have been led to expect the promised good as the result of some mysterious process, which, though they do not understand, yet they suppose to be infallible in its effects. They seem to regard the whole business of classical study, as a sort of magic, in which it is only necessary that at particular times they should repeat certain formulas, and the shades of the mighty dead, called by these incantations, will come and confer upon them the highest intellectual endowments.

The disappointment which is the necessary consequence, produces opposite effects upon different minds. Many fancy themselves to have been imposed upon, and forsake, entirely, the study of the languages; often endeavoring to derive a

partial remuneration from the sale of those books, whose use they look upon as so utterly profitless ; and warning others not to be cajoled, as they have been. While there are nobler spirits, who after repeated disappointments, still toil patiently on, supposing that the object of their efforts is but a short distance before them ; some even till they lose their lives in the eager chase ;—an image of the alchemist, bending over his crucible, in constant expectation of seeing the gold at the bottom, till the feverish sleepless anxiety of his pursuit has consumed the vital energy, and he is beyond the need of earthly treasure.

We would not, then, hold out any fallacious promise, that the study of the languages will prove a philosopher's stone, which will convert, by a touch, all the base metals into gold ; but would rather represent it as a plain honest art, which will reward all according to their efforts, and by which all who are willing to labor, may obtain a store of intellectual gold, more precious than all the heaps that ever rose in the imagination of the most sanguine alchemist.

A course of classical study may be properly divided into three great departments ; the first, the language of the Greeks and Romans ; the second, their history and antiquities ; the third, their literature. These, though intimately connected, are yet three entirely distinct departments ; as much so as any three branches in mathematics, or natural science. The first has for its object, words ; the second, facts ; the third, thoughts and feelings. These three classes of objects are linked together in life, and consequently must be in the written pictures of life. For facts, or events, excite thoughts and feelings ; these require words for their expression ; this expression with corresponding action, gives rise to new events ; and thus is completed the circle in which life revolves. Yet, notwithstanding this intimate association, the distinct character of these classes is never lost. Perhaps no illustration of this is better, than the manner in which three persons, who have given an exclusive attention each to a different class, will read the same composition. Let, for instance, an oration of Demosthenes be taken. The mere linguist, notices only the forms, meaning, and connections of the words. Not a point, or an accent can escape his eagle eye. He is in raptures at the discovery of a new example of a peculiar idiom. But ask him, when he has finished the perusal, what light the oration throws on

the history of the times, or what are its distinguishing excellencies of thought or expression, and he is silent. The mere "*matter of fact man*," gleans every microscopic item of information it contains, and every particle of evidence it furnishes upon any point in history, however unimportant; but Argus-eyed here, is blind to every thing else, observing neither the peculiarities of the language, nor the beauties of the composition. The mere literary amateur, delights himself in tracing the connections that subsist between the thoughts of the mighty Athenian, and in following and sympathising with the varieties of strong emotion, which accompanied their expression, to the entire neglect of all that interested the two former readers. While the finished classical scholar, whose attainments embrace the three departments, with scarce a conscious effort, observes, appreciates and enjoys all.

Yet, notwithstanding this broad line of distinction, the general method of study in all the parts of a classical course is the same, because this method has no respect to the peculiar characteristics of any part, but is founded on the constitution of the human mind, and the laws which it must follow in the attainment of knowledge. A general statement of this method, with a few remarks upon its application to particular parts of the course, will be all that our limits will permit. A view of the subject, that should have the least claim to be regarded as complete, would require a volume.

The *first* object of the student, then, should be, *to obtain a familiar acquaintance with all the important particulars in each department of classical study.*

All acquired knowledge must commence with particulars. It is only through these, that we can obtain general truths, and only by a continued observation of them, that our interest in those truths can be preserved. Mere abstracts are perfectly lifeless. Particulars, then, are the materials in the architecture of mind, and can no more be dispensed with, than the stone, the brick, and the wood, in the building of a house. Even if they should be unimportant in themselves, yet they derive from their necessary connection with the most valuable general truths, a high claim upon our attention. We should learn them extensively, to render our general knowledge complete; and minutely, to render it exact.

But the particulars which we find in classical study, are far from being unimportant in themselves. They have a

value independent of the general conclusions to which they lead ; and it has been for this value, principally, that perhaps the greater number have studied them.

A minute acquaintance with the language of the ancient Greeks and Romans is of constant service to its possessor. Whatever subject of inquiry he is pursuing, he is admitted by it to sources of information from which he must otherwise be debarred.

A key is not valued, like most articles, according to its material, or weight, or form, but according to the richness of the treasures to which it will admit its possessor. Though of the vilest material, shapeless, bruised, and rusty, it may still have a value superior to that of the proudest diamond that sparkles on a monarch's brow. Now if there is any knowledge, which has a value of this kind, it is the knowledge of the ancient languages.

To assure ourselves of this, let us consider for a moment, what works are brought by this knowledge within the ken of the scholar, as the orbs of heaven are brought near by the wonder-working telescope. If we may pursue the figure, we should mention, first of all, the sun of the moral firmament, that precious volume in which life and immortality are brought to light, left by infinite wisdom in the Greek language for the study of all coming ages. Then we may speak of the orbs that revolve around this centre, the first preachers and interpreters of our heaven-descended religion ; and, though we would not deify them, yet we would consider many of them as the first of men, and as those who, standing near our Lord, can claim a high regard for their principles and precepts. Then we would point to the fixed stars, which have shone, through so many ages, with the same undimmed lustre, on the world of mind ; fixed, it is true, in the night of heathenism, yet giving even to this night a sublime beauty ; drawing the admiration of every eye that is turned to them, either by the separate brightness of solitary stars, or the combined splendor of clusters and constellations ; and thus unconsciously reflecting honor on Him who kindled those fires, though they knew Him not ; —the ornaments of that vast temple which pagan genius has erected to "*The Unknown God*."

To ancient writers we may add the moderns who have spoken with the classic tongue. The Latin has been, till within a comparatively short time, the only language admitted

into the community of scholars ; and, though the modern tongues have at length gained admittance, and are increasing in use, it still remains as the common language of men of learning. If, then, the tongues of modern Europe are justly regarded as worthy of study, on account of their literary stores, what shall we say of the universal language of literature, learning, and science ; the language in which Bacon communicated his philosophy, and Newton recorded his discoveries ?

We may go farther, and say that the very importance of the modern languages gives an additional consequence to the ancient, by reason of the intimate relation which subsists between them. No language can be thoroughly understood, without an acquaintance with its roots, or primitive words. If these roots are contained in the language itself, then we may become fully acquainted with it, without the study of any other language. But if otherwise, then it is essential for this full acquaintance, that we should study the language which contains the primitives. Hence the importance of the study of the Greek, for a perfect knowledge of the Latin. And hence the impossibility of a thorough acquaintance with the languages of literary Europe, without a familiarity with the ancient languages from which they are derived. The Latin, especially, sustains the same relation to the modern languages, which the mountains of Thibet sustain to the great rivers of Asia—that of a common source. And as the traveller who stands on the top of those mountains, can trace, at his will, any of the mighty streams that run northward, eastward, southward, and westward, so he that stands on the eminence of the Latin, can then follow, with ease, any of the currents of language, that have flowed from it to water the nations of modern Europe. Our own tongue is not among the least indebted ; and he that would be perfect master of this powerful, but complicated engine of thought, must learn it in its elements.

The importance of a minute acquaintance with the history, government, arts, and manners of the ancients, is universally admitted. Scarce a book is published, or a speech delivered, which does not require it in its readers, or hearers. It is remarkable, that the very writer, who, of all in our country, most decries this knowledge,* exacts it the most

* The justly styled "classical Grincké."

imperiously from those whom he addresses. To appreciate, or even understand modern literature, without it, is impossible. To be assured of this, we need but open to any page in our great Epic, the *Paradise Lost*. But every scholar will be equally ready to admit, that in no way can the requisite information be so easily gained, as by the study of the classics. A single word in the original language will often throw more light upon the character or habits of the Greeks or Romans, than could be possibly thrown by a whole paragraph in a modern author.

It were easy to show that a similar importance attaches itself to a particular acquaintance with the Greek and Latin literature, and that the connection between the ancient and modern literature is not less intimate than between the ancient and modern languages. But we cannot dwell longer on this part of the subject.

For the knowledge of particular truths, however interesting or valuable they may be, is not the great object of a liberal education. Particulars have been called the materials in mental architecture; but who thought, as he first gazed upon the Parthenon, after the completion of this wonderful fabric, of the individual stones used in the building? These stones had been hewn with great care; and yet all regard for them was lost in admiration of the grand design and exquisite proportion of the whole. In that nobler structure which every scholar should raise, aspiring to a higher fame than that of Phidias, the materials should all be wrought with equal care, and should then all hold an equally subordinate place. The Greek wit, if the triteness of the allusion may be pardoned, has held up to deserved ridicule, the foolish man; who carried round a stone from his house, to show as a specimen. How much wiser is the professed scholar, who confines his regards to the value of particular items of knowledge, instead of raising them to the surpassing dignity and incalculable worth of that mental enlargement and cultivation, in which this item should be lost, as a drop in the ocean—an essential, but an unnoticed constituent.

This enlargement can be gained only by the acquisition, or clearer apprehension, of general truths; this cultivation only by their application. A succession of ideas that respect particulars only, may be compared to the rill, which flows on, year after year, without a perceptible enlargement of its narrow channel; while general truths are like the torrent,

which comes and bursts at once a deep, broad passage. It is an equally distinguishing excellence of general truths, that they are practical. Particular truths respect individual times, or places, or objects, and admit of no application to any others, except through the general truths, or principles, to which they may lead. A principle may be said to be a focus, in which the rays of light, which proceed from a multitude of scattered objects, each ray faint and feeble, are concentrated into one brilliant point, which sends its brightness through the whole length of our pathway.

Here, then, is presented to us, the second great object of the classical student, *so to arrange and generalize the particular information he has acquired, as to rise from facts to principles, from phenomena to laws.*

But the knowledge of particulars, referred to their principles and laws, is *science*; and every department of study takes its rank among the sciences, when this reference has been made. The proper pursuit of the three branches of classical learning, will then result in three great *sciences*. The first of these we may name, from its department, the science of language. For the second, it is more difficult to obtain an appropriate title. Perhaps we cannot find a better than the science of life; including both public and private life, and embracing in this general name the philosophy of history, of government, of natural religion, of society, and of the arts. The third may be called, like the first, from its department, the science of literature.

Combine the three, by the aid of our own consciousness, and we have the science of mind. These are its great elements; embracing, one, the sources or occasions of mental and moral affections; another, those affections themselves; and the third, their appropriate manifestations. The science of mind needs no panegyric. The surpassing dignity of its subject, the immortal spirit—our own personal interest in it, for it is the knowledge of ourselves—its relation to all the other sciences, as their common centre—its practical character, for it is of hourly application—place it as far above physical science, as the heavens are above the earth, and only below the knowledge of Him, by whom both heavens and earth were created.

The relation of the three sciences of which we have spoken to this science of sciences, should lead us to make them prominent objects of attention, when engaged in the

study of the language, history, or literature of any nation, whether ancient or modern. But there are reasons, why it is peculiarly important that they should not be neglected, in a course of classical study ; for, in the first place, they have been for the most part pursued in connection with this course, and the union has been cemented by the labors of successive generations of indefatigable scholars, whose Herculean works are lost to the world, unless this union is preserved. Besides, as education is now conducted by all enlightened nations, a different association cannot be easily formed. Time may change the current of the Amazon ; but it can be only the work of time. A still more weighty reason is, that no other connection, even if it might be formed with perfect ease, could, from its nature, be equally serviceable with the present. The classical course furnishes advantages for the acquisition of these sciences, which can be found nowhere else.

As an exhibition of the great principles of language, in their fullest developement, the Greek stands without question at the head of all languages, both ancient and modern. Its fullness of forms, its copiousness of vocabulary, its studiousness of euphony, its flexibility in derivation and composition, and, above all, the unique circumstance that we can trace it as a living language through the varieties of twenty-eight centuries, from a period beyond the reach of secular history, even to the present day, combine to give it a title to this place, altogether indisputable. And the Latin is among the languages which stand in the second class, though with all the rest, far below the Greek ; and its study is the rather to be recommended for our present object, from its relation to the Greek. Of a common original, if not indeed derived from it, the Latin so far agrees with the Greek, and so far differs from it, that much may be learned from watching these alternations of coincidence and variance.

The Greek literature holds a place as elevated as the Greek language ; and the Latin literature holds a rank below it, similar to the rank of the Latin language. That there are elements in modern literature, which cannot be found in the ancient, we are ready to admit ; and we should be guilty of black ingratitude, did we not acknowledge our high obligations to Christianity, for having contributed those among them which are most valuable. We only regret that these elements are not more prominent, and that they have had so

little influence in determining the general character of modern writings. But, when we have made every concession to the moderns, we may still safely take the ground, that, so far as judgment, taste, and skill in composition are concerned, so far as the beauty of the form is regarded, nay, in every thing that belongs to literature as one of the fine arts, the view the ancients chose to make most prominent, that in all these respects the ancient writers were as much above their successors, as the ancient sculptors and architects. Especially the Greek literature is above all comparison for a combination of originality of thought, freshness of spirit, symmetry and beauty of form, and perfection of finish.

That there should be this surpassing excellence in ancient literature, may be easily explained, without supposing that the ancients belonged to a different race from the moderns, or adopting the old belief that the world is deteriorating, and that they enjoyed the blessings of the golden age, while we are condemned to the iron. We cannot doubt that the general course of society is the reverse, and when we look abroad, cannot but believe that the iron age has passed into the brazen, that this is now changing to the silver, and that ere long will come "the promised age of gold." That there should be exceptions to this general law of improvement, is only in accordance with the analogy of the moral world. The same analogy teaches us, that these exceptions will ultimately all yield to the supremacy of the law. A literature will then arise, superior to any the world has ever yet seen, whose elements will be the varied contributions of matured reason, vigorous imagination, extensive observation, and long experience; whose form will be beauty in perfection; and whose spirit will have been expressed in the song of the heavenly host, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men." Is it overweening pride of country, to believe that the first full developement of this literature will be in our own land? Is it professional enthusiasm, to be persuaded that deep classical study will be among the most efficient means in its formation?

But we must not indulge our fond anticipations; nor can we stop to gaze upon the charms of ancient literature, for the crowning work of the student is yet to be mentioned. It has been objected to classical study, that it leads to no practical results. We have seen, that it may be the boast of its friends, that the truths with which it will acquaint us, are

practical in an eminent degree. For they respect all our thoughts and feelings, and all our expression of those thoughts and feelings; all our own improvement, and all our influence over other minds. Of what other truths can as much be said? A truth in mechanics we may find occasion for, perhaps, once in our lives; a truth in mental science may benefit every hour of our lives. But to reap the full advantage of these truths, it is essential, that, by repeated application, they should become laws;—laws of the mind, as the principles of euphony are made laws of the voice, and those of grace, laws of the limbs. Till a principle has become a law, it requires, for any good effect, the full attention of the mind; but when this change has taken place, it seems to act spontaneously, permitting the energies of the mind to be directed to other subjects; and the person pursues, almost unconsciously, the course which above all others is to be chosen. He is thus obeying one principle, while he is investigating another. While he is making new acquisitions, he is enjoying the advantages of the old; and all that he acquires, becomes a part of himself.

This is then the third and last object of the student, *to reduce to practice the principles acquired by classical study, and make them laws of his mind.*

It is one of the many peculiar advantages of classical study, that this application is ever so ready at hand. It requires no costly apparatus, no complicated machinery. The mind is the great instrument, and this is ever present. Indeed, the very study itself, unlike most other studies, not only permits, but to a considerable extent, even requires the continual application of the principles it teaches.

Of the principles of language, the application is of two kinds. By the first, we obtain from words the thoughts and feelings of which they are significant; by the second, we express thoughts and feelings in their appropriate words. The first, is the art of interpretation; the second, of composition. These are both of daily use in the study of the languages; for translation is but a combination of the two; and it is the only exercise which involves both, while it is at the same time the best for each. We never interpret so fully and clearly, as when we must give an exact version; and the demand is never made upon us for so extensive a vocabulary, and such varied forms of language, as when we endeavor to express the thoughts of others. As an exercise

for the formation of style, translation is evidently superior to original composition. In the latter, the mind is too much engrossed, or should be too much engrossed with the thought, to think much of the drapery that is thrown around it; in the former, the thought is given, and the drapery may be the object of undivided attention. In the latter, the student's vocabulary and forms of speech, are limited by the narrow boundaries of youthful thought; in the former, they must be enlarged, so as to take in the greatest conceptions of the most mature and gifted minds.

The application of the principles of literature, like that of the principles of language, is two fold; first, to the appreciation of literary merit in others; secondly, to the attainment of literary excellence ourselves. The first is the work of the critic, the second of the author. It is especially important at the present day, that every educated man should be versed in both. The world is swarming with new books, upon which he must be able to pronounce an enlightened opinion; not only that their authors may receive justice, but that the judgment and taste of the less educated around him, may not be led astray. And yet there is a constant call for new composition. There never was a period, when the pen and voice, of every man who could use either, was more imperatively required in the cause of truth and virtue. There is a general conflict of opinion and feeling, which summons every man to the field, who can carry a weapon. How important, that he should come fully equipped, and perfectly trained to the use of all his arms. Classical study, above all other pursuits, furnishes a powerful excitement, and an admirable opportunity for the preparatory training required. It is constantly bringing before the student the noblest subjects for criticism, master-pieces of art, on which he may try and perfect his taste; and, consequently, the finest models in composition, to which he may refer as to a standard, his own efforts.

The practical applications of the remaining department of classical study, are too extensive and various to be noticed in this place. Indeed my endeavor in respect to the whole subject, has been merely to state the plan of the building, and give a few rude sketches, here of an arch, and there of a pillar, leaving it to my readers to extend the arch in long perspective, to multiply the pillar into the magnificent colonnade, and to add the various decorations, which are

requisite to complete the splendor, dignity and beauty of the whole.

The great number, variety and importance of the subjects, sciences, and arts, which are embraced in the complete circle of classical study, need no remark. But there is a feature in the course, which it may be more important to notice. Notwithstanding all this number and variety, there is still throughout, so intimate a connection, as to give to the whole a perfect unity. The study is one, and yet many. It has been called a circle; in one respect it closely resembles it. Though it runs in every direction, it is still but a single line. The connection between the three departments, we have already noticed. That between the three great objects of pursuit in each department, is not less intimate. As particulars are the necessary introduction to generals, so it is by generals only, that we can retain many particulars. And as general principles are the only proper foundation for practical effort, so it is by this effort alone, that we can make these principles thoroughly our own. Thus are all the parts of classical study bound together by a golden chain; so that every acquisition in any part, is of service in all the rest. And no one can perfect himself in a single part, without a knowledge of the others; so that even the seeming paradox is true, that the whole may be learned more easily than any part.

Let the student complete the magic circle, as early as he can, and let his subsequent efforts be directed to the symmetrical extension of this circle in all directions. Who has not noticed, as the pebble drops into the water, the completeness of the ring that first appears, however small; and then watched to see, how it preserves the same form, as it enlarges on every side, till it is lost on the extended surface? Similar to this should be the progress of the mind. Thus should it preserve its symmetry, and thus should it enlarge itself, till it is lost on the boundless expanse of truth. But no, it is never lost. It extends itself only like a conqueror, to make all that it passes over, its own.

The wonderful combination of the most perfect unity with the most extensive diversity, which characterises classical study, renders it of all pursuits the best fitted to enlarge, discipline, and mature the whole mind. No faculty is neglected, and all are cultivated with perfect harmony, and in due proportion. All the perceptive powers are called into

exercise in the nice observation of particulars; all the reflective, in their arrangement and generalization; and all the practical, in the application of the results obtained by the former. By this study, memory enlarges her storehouses; discernment becomes more eagle-eyed; judgment improves in accuracy; taste acquires new delicacy; imagination plumes her wings for a loftier flight; while the soul is brought into the delightful consciousness of having commenced that progress of enlargement and elevation, for which it was created, and which is destined never to cease.

ARTICLE IV.

PHYSICAL CULTURE, THE RESULT OF MORAL OBLIGATION.

THERE is a disposition in almost every mind, to reach heaven, when this life is ended. All, except a few daring outlaws, who, by a life of sin, have grieved away the Holy Spirit, express the intention of being saved. Must not then every such mind have impressed upon it, more or less deeply, the desire of knowing what it must do to inherit eternal life? To enable each one to answer this momentous inquiry, a merciful God has granted to this favored Christian land, besides the unerring Scriptures, a sacred ministry, who, from Sabbath to Sabbath, direct the inquiring soul towards the Redeemer's kingdom, and journey on from day to day with the anxious spirit, towards the haven of eternal rest. To aid the *mind* in its search for truth, the press pours out a flood of knowledge, to enlighten and instruct the intellect, not only in the arts and sciences, but also in religion. So that the mind may drink in new supplies of wisdom, to enlarge its capacities, and strengthen its powers, for the more perfect enjoyment of the pleasures of the life to come. Thus the soul, which is to live forever, and the mind, which is to extend into eternity, are regarded and provided for, by the gifted children of the Lord.

This is indeed well ; but it does not reach the whole nature of man. Composed of body, mind, and spirit, the entire nature must receive a like tendency towards divine life.

While, then, so many are engaged in directing the mind and spirit to new acquirements of truth and knowledge, would it not be well to have pointed out to the accountable children of God, the duties which they owe to their mortal frames ?

In the following pages this subject will be noticed ; in doing which, I shall,

First, Briefly advert to some of the reasons which may be offered, to show the religious duty of the physical culture of man :

Then, Exhibit some of the general principles on which this culture is founded :

And, Subjoin a few plain aphorisms, for the practical performance of the duty.

The subject of physical education would be too extensive for this short essay. It will therefore be confined to some of its branches.

Let parents, and all those who have the care of the young, consider this important subject. Let all, who would know their duty to the body, enter seriously upon its investigation. Let the Christian learn more of that duty which he owes his mortal frame. Let the inquirer after truth enter this untrodden path of knowledge. Let all responsible and accountable agents, who shall read these pages, make the few suggestions which they contain the beginning of a conscientious investigation of the subject, that shall result in a holy dedication of the body to God, and a sacred cultivation of its powers for his service.

I state first, the grounds of the duty of this culture ; and remark, that

The powers of the body should be cultivated, because it is the workmanship of God, and the most wonderful part of his creation upon the earth. The works of the Creator were all designed, and are perfectly adapted, to glorify him. As the creatures of his hand, all animate and inanimate nature is vocal with his praise. In this sense, even man exalts his Maker. But while the heavens declare the glory of God, and the world which he has made answers his call to praise him, man alone, the noblest of his creatures, will

not fulfil this glorious purpose. He "has sought out many inventions," and "the imaginations of his heart are only evil continually." In consequence of which, the curse of a violated law rests upon the body, through the agency of which he originally sinned, as well as upon the spirit, by which he rebelled against his God. Now it is unquestionably the duty of man, so far as possible, to bring back the body, as well as the mind, to the perfect service of his Maker; and by a cultivation of its powers in the more perfect service of God, to avert the penalty of his transgression.

Nor is it only because the body is made by God, that it is bound to serve him. It is the most wonderful of the works of the Almighty. At the creation, God made the visible world, and then made man, its possessor, as if he had reserved the chief glory of his creation to be the last of his works. What a glorious piece of workmanship must that have been, when, in the likeness of God, made he man! And even now, in all the ruins of the fall, "What a piece of work is man!" The inspired Psalmist, when considering this structure of himself, exclaims, "We are fearfully and wonderfully made"! Centuries have passed away, and the perfection of the structure of the human body is not yet fully explained. But enough is seen in the symmetry of its proportions, the perfect adaptation of its organs to their uses, and the entire fitness of the whole for the purposes of its creation, to lead the mind to wonder at the work, and to adore the Maker. The exclamation rises spontaneously that "the undevout" anatomist "is mad."

Can it be consistent with duty, that this fair frame should be left uncultivated, and its fine faculties be permitted to languish and decay? Is it not most unreasonable, to permit the body to degenerate, from neglect of culture, or to become exhausted from the evil influences of sinful habits?

The powers of the body should be cultivated, because of its connection with the mind. The nature of the union of the body and the soul, is one of those invisible and mysterious relations, which the Maker has been pleased to conceal from the utmost effort of investigation. But the fact is clearly seen in the mutual action of mind and matter. Among these relations, one of the most prominent, presenting itself to daily experience, is the influence exerted upon the mind by the body, under the different states of health and disease. The inconsistency of expecting a vigorous and

active mind in a weak and sickly body, is readily seen. While an imbecile and sluggish intellect is readily looked for in a crowded and inactive frame. With common consent, too, in a body neither too effeminate from indulgence in repose, nor too gross from luxurious habits, but vigorous from labor, and active from a moderate supply of food, a mind clear and elastic, sound and sprightly, is certainly expected. In childhood, a puny body cannot bear the labor of bending itself to the requirements of the mind, by a long continued effort in study. So that the education of feeble children is necessarily neglected; and the minds of such are left to feed on vanity, or waste in inactivity. But when the physical powers are duly cultivated and equally proportioned, the mind expands in its capacity, and becomes insatiable in its thirst for improvement; so that the trite definition of health has been, "*Mens sana in corpore sano.*"

Besides this connection of the body with the intellectual faculties, there is a deeper and yet more important connection of the body with the spiritual existence of man. This is that exalted relation in which the body, through the medium of the affections of the heart, may be united to deity, and become assimilated to God. This connection of the body with the eternal Spirit, is taught in the revealed word of God, as well as seen by the observation of experience. The inspired Paul says to the churches of his charge, "What! know ye not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost which is in you?" 1 Cor. vi. 19. "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" 1 Cor. iii. 16. "For ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them and walk in them." 2 Cor. vi. 16. "In whom ye also are builded together, for an habitation of God through the Spirit." Eph. ii. 22. And Peter also says, "Ye also, as lively stones, are built up a spiritual house." 1 Pet. ii. 5.

It is thus that the Scriptures confer honor on the body, as the valuable casket which contains the precious soul. And thus the body is to be made holy, for the service of the spirit, as the altar is sanctified for the sacrifice it bears.

Equally explicit are the oracles of God in giving the body a noble rank in its union to the blessed Saviour.

"Know ye not, that your bodies are the members of Christ?" 1 Cor. vi. 15. "Now ye are the body of Christ."

1 Cor. xii. 27. "We being many are one body in Christ." Rom. xii. 5. "But the body is of Christ." Col. ii. 17. "And he is the Saviour of the body." Ephesians v. 23. "For we are members of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones." Ephesians v. 30.

Thus the union of the body and the soul with Deity, is recognized by the word of God. And the deduction which it draws from the fact, is the urgent duty of cultivating the powers of the body, on religious principles, for the service of God. The exhortations which it consequently uses for this purpose are such as these :—"Therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's." 1 Cor. vi. 20. "Whether therefore ye eat, or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God." 1 Cor. x. 31. "Yield your members servants to righteousness, unto holiness." Rom. vi. 19. "Christ shall be magnified in my body." Phil. i. 20. "If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy ; for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are." 1 Cor. iii. 17. "Let not sin reign in your mortal body." Rom. vi. 12.

If these precepts are obeyed, then follow the promises, given in connection. "But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by his Spirit that dwelleth in you." Romans viii. 11. "Because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God." Romans viii. 21. "If ye, through the Spirit, do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." Romans viii. 13. I leave this point of my subject in the forcible injunction of the apostle ; "I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." Romans xii. 1.

I have said that what is here taught in the Bible, is consonant with the observation of experience. Not to enter generally upon the copious subject of the influence of physical causes upon religious character, I notice only one of the prominent results, which daily appear in life. Is it not constantly seen, that the languid and sickly body gives its morbid impress to the religious character? Does not the Christian oftentimes become dark and doubtful, when disease bows down his spirit? If this is so in the Christian, who

has, at some time, tasted that the Lord is gracious; how shall it be expected that the first influences of piety will take root in a weak and sickly soil? There must be a balance of proportions, in the powers of the body and the mind, for spiritual life to germinate with vigor and activity. When the bodily powers are not developed, the mind is dim and lifeless; or if the spirit of such a frame is excited, it becomes uneven and tumultuous. The agitated mind can no more reflect the beauty of religion, than can the ruffled surface of the water reflect the starry heavens. There must be peace and calmness in the soul, for the Spirit of God to dwell in the affections of the heart; and this will more perfectly exist, with clearness of intellect and corporeal strength.

From what has been thus briefly noticed, is it not an apparent duty, to cultivate, to their highest excellence, the physical powers of the human frame, from its present connection with rational and spiritual life?

The powers of the body should be cultivated, because of its connection with eternity.

I apprehend that the body is not sufficiently appreciated in its relation to a future existence. Considered only in reference to this life, and as possessing in itself the elements of dissolution, and still more as being the instrument by which the soul stoops to sensuality, it may well be styled a "vile body." But when the gospel is made to shine upon it, which has brought life and immortality to light, it assumes new features, and acquires new dignity. Even reason would suggest, that so noble a structure could not be designed to be destroyed forever, were it not that experience rises up with the assertion that every human frame shall moulder in the dust, and be scattered by the winds of heaven. Thus would reason and experience differ. But revelation explains the seeming contradiction, by unfolding the purposes of God and the destiny of man.

And what is the declaration of the gospel with regard to the present and future destiny of the material part of man?

Originally made upright, he fell from his high estate, and received the unalterable sentence, "Dust thou art, and unto dust shalt thou return." The seal which is here put upon his fate, because of his sinful nature, is reaffixed in consequence of actual transgression. "The wages of sin is death." "Death hath passed upon all, because that all

have sinned." Such is the inevitable decree of the Almighty. But his purposes do not stop here—"As by one man came death, by one came also the resurrection of the dead." "As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." The Saviour dispels the darkness which hangs over the grave, through which, nor reason nor philosophy could penetrate. Together with the death, therefore, the Holy Scriptures have fully revealed the certain resurrection of the body. The apostle to the Gentiles, in addressing the Corinthian church, and through them all who desire to love and serve their God, has not only declared and proved this all important fact, but has made it the foundation of most urgent duty. "Be ye therefore steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord."

But it may be asked, if the body shall die, and dissolve, what connection can it have with the future world, although there be a certain resurrection? In answer to this, let us take the train of observation made by the apostle on this subject: "How are the dead raised up? and with what *body* do they come?" Learn from the seed which thou sowest. "Thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain; it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain. But God giveth it a body, as it hath pleased him, to every seed his own body." So with man, the body that shall be, shall hold the same relation with that which has been, as the plant to the seed which is sown. "It is sown a natural body; it is raised a spiritual body." But still a *body*—receiving its character and its figure—its faculties and its powers—its vigor and perfection—according as that which is sown is capable of germinating into more or less of spiritual excellence. Just as the plant shoots up into wheat, or some other grain, according to the seed which was sown. As the natural body is sown, so shall the spiritual body rise. If the Spirit of God has breathed upon it before it returned to the dust, it shall rise sanctified for the eternal service of God. And if this Spirit has imparted to it his holy influences, while it was expanding its powers, and has consecrated them to the service of God, making every member his servant, there is prepared a seed, rich and efficient, that shall spring up into full vigor in the life to come. The material body thus imparts its influences to the spiritual body, into which it springs, as its germinating principle. And thus the powers

of the body should be cultivated, because of its relation to that body which shall never die.

This duty might be still further enforced, by following the anatomist, in his developement of the internal structure, or by tracing, with the moral philosopher, the more minute influences of matter upon mind. It might also be urged, in obedience to Him whose command is, "Be ye holy, as I am holy." Or it might be exhibited, as appealing to that principle of our nature which prompts to self-gratification, by illustrating the personal benefits and blessings which would result from a performance of the duty. But enough has been said, to show that the cultivation of the body is a duty, and a great one, which cannot be omitted, without a loss of present and future happiness.

I proceed, therefore, to the investigation of *the principles on which this culture is to be performed*. In doing this, I wish not to lay aside the volume of inspired instruction, which I apprehend recognizes each part of the whole duty of man. There is nothing, which can be justly styled a duty, that the conscientious inquirer may not find discussed, or on broad principles provided for, in the word of God. The Bible is not, indeed, a system of physical education; but it establishes holy principles, on which that education should be founded. Nor is it possible to direct the energies of the body to their legitimate objects, or bring its powers into full or perfect action, without an application of the principles which it inculcates.

In establishing the laws which govern the constitution of man, the Almighty has been pleased to unite ultimate happiness with present obedience. So perfect is this union of cause and effect, that even that which is decreed as the penalty of an evil nature, becomes not only bereft of its poignancy, but the source of great enjoyment, when it meets with implicit compliance with divine commands. The threatened evil is averted, and love is substituted, when faith, leaning on God, is fruitful in holy obedience. It is as if "the Lord made bare his arm," and stretched it forth in anger from the skies; but when the confiding subject approached in faith, he sees not the hand of just resentment, but reads Mercy written on the extended palm.

This tempered goodness reaches as well to the body, as to the mind. In this way, that first principle which meets us, as established by God in human culture, viz. that man

shall labor for his subsistence, becomes subservient, when regulated by religious feeling, to the health and happiness of the species.

This principle of labor must be more fully noticed, as it is one of the most important in physical culture. In pronouncing sentence upon man, at his first dereliction, the Lord added to that of certain dissolution, the affecting penalty in this life, that "by the sweat of his brow, he should eat of the fruit of the ground." This is the foundation of human labor; and hence springs the imperative necessity of exercise, as part of the very constitution of man. It was consequently incorporated into the system of duties enjoined by God upon his peculiar people, and at last established by law upon the mountain, "Six days shalt thou labor." "The law was" thus "given by Moses, but grace and truth came by Jesus Christ." This grace and truth it is, which takes off the grievous burden of the law, by laying it at the feet of him who has said, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." Religion not only makes the burden of labor tolerable, but so sweetens its endurance, that it becomes the source of great and permanent enjoyment. The importance of exercise, or labor, for the acquisition of health, or the attainment of happiness, is so universally acknowledged, that I need not stop to show the truth of the proposition, or the extent of its utility; but proceed to illustrate the general mode and nature of its correct application.

One of the prominent laws of the animal economy is this; that the strength of an organ is increased by use. This is true of each separate system of the whole frame. The eye for instance, which, in early life, has not been faithfully applied by a healthy use, will lose its power, and prematurely decay. This result of disuse is in the function of the organ; but its effect is also apparent in the developement of its structure. A sightless eye in infancy, will not attain the size of the adult organ. But this law, which operates on all the other systems, is particularly applicable to the locomotive apparatus. It is here that it operates in all its force. Even the different parts of this system are strengthened, just as they are called into action. This is familiarly noticed in the strong muscles of the smith's arm, or in the untiring strength of the pedestrian's limbs, or in the whole frame of the sturdy farmer. The mighty results which are effected, by those

trained by long and constant use, seem almost incredible to those who do not know to what extent this law operates in man. The strength and swiftness of the athlete, and the prodigious feats at the gymnasium, are all the products of this law. Under its influence, the human frame may be prepared to endure and to accomplish more than the strongest and hardiest quadruped. Even the horse cannot continue his effort so long, or effect so great an amount of labor, as a man.

Thus exercise seems to be interwoven with the very nature and constitution of man. To disobey the law which lays it on him by imperative necessity, is to ensure the inevitable train of evils which indolence induces; while to yield to its necessity, is to gain not only facility of action in the locomotive organs, and a healthy circulation of the vital fluid, but an increase of nervous energy, with accumulated mental vigor. As the father of physic has long since observed, "it gives strength to the body, and vigor to the mind; and it is an irrefragable truth, that where it is improperly neglected, the energy and strength of the whole machine falls to decay."

From the structure and from the constitution of man, this duty may be clearly drawn; and from the word of God it is enjoined, as one which cannot be violated with impunity, and shall be rewarded when fulfilled. But to what extent shall it be carried, as a duty? How far is the cultivation of the locomotive powers to be extended, in conformity with the rest of the nature of man, and the cultivation of his other qualities? Shall this be the single object of pursuit; and shall immortal man devote to the culture of his body his exclusive, or even chief attention?

The relation which the body holds to the mind tempers the duty of physical culture, and prescribes its limit. Man has a mind to cultivate for God, as well as a body to bring into subjection to him, and this mind requires for its improvement no small portion of the time allotted to human life. The Bible is full of the precept to seek after knowledge, and pursue understanding; and God has affixed the seal of his approbation to the acquirement of wisdom, by giving the son of David a rich measure of understanding, in answer to his prayer. How then are these principles, apparently opposite, to be reconciled? By making the first *race* of men tillers of the ground, God seems to require the

complete fulfillment of the penalty of the fall ; and by giving man a capacity for exploring knowledge, which is deeply hid, he appears to demand a life of study for its attainment. God has reconciled this apparent diversity of works, by the system of his providence. He has permitted different orders of society, and he has kindly allowed these different principles to admit of such modification as to apply without interference to every class. But although the law which requires labor, and the command which urges the pursuit of knowledge, may be modified by all, it may be broken with impunity by none. Each class, while it pursues primarily its peculiar object, must yield to the law of necessity and to duty, in the pursuit of other attainments. These may by each be done, but others must not be left undone. Let, then, every accountable subject of the moral Governor, while he cultivates the exalted mind, not neglect the frame in which it tabernacles ; or while he tasks the body in the developement of its powers, let him not forget that he owes to the mind a full share of attention and of care.

They that till the earth, must not forget that they have immortal minds to be improved for God, and immortal spirits to be devoted to his service. And they that pursue knowledge with insatiable avidity, must remember that the injunction has gone forth to live by labor. The scholar must sometimes follow the plough *ad sudorem*, and the farmer pursue study *ad sapientiam*.

From the state of action, we pass to another principle of the economy, not less imperious, although not imposed as a burden, but mercifully bestowed, in mitigation of that penalty. We shall consider now the physical necessity of *sleep*, and the moral laws which should govern this state of rest.

On the fourth day of his work, the Creator of the universe divided the day from the night, by making the sun to rule the day, and the moon to govern the night. In this division of time, he seems to have had reference to the future preservation of man ; for, in the construction of his frame, he has affixed a law, that when the system becomes exhausted by exercise, it must be recruited by rest. Now man is prompted to action, so long as the nervous energy is stimulated through the senses. But at night, the natural excitements are removed—the eye is no longer roused by the contemplation of external objects—nor the ear assailed by sound—the feeling will not be excited to sensation, when

the locomotive organs do not transport the body to the contact of external objects, or these objects are conveyed to the touch. For the want therefore of these stimuli, the body sinks into repose after its fatigue from labor. And the night is kindly bestowed for the preservation and comfort of man.

The beneficial influence of sleep may be briefly summed up in these general effects upon the body and mind.

"By sleep the vital energy is renewed, which had been exhausted by former exertions."

"The process of assimilation or nourishment goes on more perfectly."

"The frame attains its proper growth."

"Much acrid matter is expelled through the medium of perspiration."

"The cure of disease and restoration of health are in many cases promoted."

"The vigor of the mental faculties is renewed."

"The extension of life is advanced, and an important addition is made to its pleasures."*

Such are the effects which experience shows to be the kind result of sleep. Indeed, so indispensable is the necessity of sleep to the human frame, that the body could not endure its loss, in most cases, beyond a few days, and in any case could not suffer its deprivation beyond a few weeks, and the mind, without its restoring qualities, would soon break away from the subjection of reason, and leave the victim of watchfulness an exhausted maniac. Sleep is then, "the chief nourisher of life's feast." But it is not a cup of pleasure which may be taken without limit. It is very closely connected with the moral man. Its very state is a full illustration of the truth of this position. Consider the sensible phenomena of sleep. See that active, restless, and intelligent being, endowed with capacities, both corporeal and mental, capable of producing vast results. With his mind he grasps the laws of science, and sets in action the springs of art. He contemplates divinity, and can even be made so far to understand the spiritual world, as to enter a new and entire spiritual life and kingdom. With his locomotive powers, he goes from place to place in search of knowledge, or in the performance of duty. See him in his state of watchfulness, capable of loving and serving his Creator.

* Sir John Sinclair.

When the sun ariseth, "man goeth forth to his work and to his labor until the evening," and in the intensity of his desire, he pushes on his mind into new fields of learning. But now, how changed! This state of activity has given way to rest, and he that was all life and energy, has fallen into a state nearly allied to death. His motionless and inactive limbs are no longer subject to the will. Animal life is suspended, and organic life has yielded up a portion of its activity. His thinking mind no longer explores the mysteries of science. Deep sleep has steeped his senses in forgetfulness. How can he now morally perform his active duties! How can he now serve his fellow-man, or worship his Creator, God! In sleep, all his moral powers are suspended; but not so his moral obligation. He is still a creature, and must serve his Creator. He is a creature of time, and must prepare for eternity. How much, then, of this brief life, must be allowed to pass in the unconsciousness of sleep? How long shall man be permitted

"To lie in dead oblivion, losing half
The fleeting moments of too short a life?"

What rule must govern him, in regulating the period of his repose? For an answer to this, doubtless, he must look to the end and object of his being. This end is the glory of God; and this object the salvation of his own soul. To accomplish these, he is to give himself to God, that he may serve him with all his powers. He cannot, therefore, fulfill the end of the law, which is obedience, if, on the one hand, he spends in unnecessary activity that time which belongs to God; or, on the other, by long protracted labor and study, wastes those vital energies which should be restored by sleep.

The word of God, by establishing the principles on which the duty of man is founded, prescribes his obligations with regard to this part of physical culture. But we are directed by experience, to define the exact period which must be allotted to sleep, under the government of moral obligation. Careful observation on this subject has led to this practical conclusion: That in the first few months of infancy, nearly all the time must be devoted to the stillness of sleep. That then the dormant senses should be roused to use, and the mental faculties gradually stimulated into action, which may

be permitted for a quarter part of time. In early childhood, half of the day is required to restore, by sleep, the waste of energy which has been produced by labor during the other half. This may be reduced to a third, in maturer life ; and as age advances, it may come, at last, to a quarter part, for sleep. But in the second childhood of extreme age, besides the regular sleep at night, transient rest by day must be once more resumed.

By the first of the principles which have now been adverted to, the powers of the body are strengthened by use ; and by the last of the principles discussed, the vital energy is renewed by rest.

We come next to the consideration of another principle, by which the waste, not only of power, but of parts, is to be restored by food.

There is in man a principle of decay, as the result of his disobedience, the consequent fiat of the Almighty ; and this would operate to the speedy extinction of the species, but for the mercy which permits him to prolong his existence to an extended term of years. This goodness operates, by connecting the life of man with the animal and vegetable kingdom around him ; that from them he may draw support and sustenance, to repair the waste of the body, and recruit the loss of his powers.

The support of the system by food, while it constitutes a great part of the animal enjoyment of man, and has been graciously bestowed for his pleasure, as well as for his preservation, is probably more perverted to his injury and unhappiness, than all the other circumstances of his physical nature. Religious principle is therefore highly important here, that he may have some holy guard to restrict, and some holy guide to direct him in the quantity and quality of his food. The Scriptures have therefore furnished him with precepts, founded on principles which experience has illustrated, sufficiently clear to enable him to enjoy the bounties of Providence, for his comfort and support, while, at the same time, he is taught to do all to the honor and glory of his benefactor.

The historical record of God's dealings with primeval man, declares the intention of the Creator that the vegetable kingdom shall be given to him for food ; and when man passed by a single family from the old world to the new, God once more, by covenant, gave to him the animal and

vegetable kingdoms, to be to him for sustenance. "Every moving thing that liveth shall be meat for you; even as the green herb have I given you all things." Gen. ix. 3. With this provision for his wants, there is also given to the body the capacity to receive, and the property to convert these bounties to the restoration of its wasting powers. But with the extensive field spread out before his view, from which he may partake, and the propensity of his erring nature to pervert the bounties of Providence, there would be danger that man would dishonor the Giver of all good, by a cruel destruction of animal life, or by a wanton waste of the bounties of the field. There is therefore implanted in the constitution a check to his desires, in the limited power which the body has of converting to its renewal the various aliments provided. It is also in conformity with the features of God's government, tempered every where by gentleness and mercy, that this limit of man should be greatly contracted—that is, that his actual wants should be very few, and the required amount of sustenance should be very small. Experience shows that such is the law of the animal economy; and revelation has founded on all these principles, those precepts which are enjoined upon him, as a recipient of God's bounties. The corner stone laid on the foundation, is temperance. Over this is raised the whole edifice of Christian perfectness, with all its garniture of spiritual beauty and moral ornament. The precepts which recognise this necessary duty of self-denial and moderation, are such as these.—1 Pet. ii. 11. "Dearly beloved, I beseech you, as strangers and pilgrims, abstain from fleshly lusts, which war against the soul." 1 Pet. iv. 2. "That he no longer should live the rest of his time in the flesh to the lusts of men, but to the will of God." Luke xxi. 34. "Take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness." Rom. viii. 13. "For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die; but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live." Rom. xiii. 14. "But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfill the lusts thereof." 2 Cor. vii. 1. "Let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit." Gal. v. 16. "Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfill the lust of the flesh." Gal. v. 24. "They that are Christ's, have crucified the flesh with the affections and lusts." Matt. vi. 25. "Take no thought

for your life, what ye shall eat, or what ye shall drink ; nor yet for your body, what ye shall put on." 1 Cor. ix. 25. "And every man that striveth for the mastery is temperate in all things." 1 Cor. ix. 27. "But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection." Gal. v. 22, 23. "But the fruit of the Spirit is — temperance." "Be temperate in all things."

In accordance with these precepts of the gospel, experience brings in its testimony to the fact that but little is required to sustain the body in health and vigor. The aged Venetian Cornaro reduced the quantity to the small amount of twelve ounces of solid food,* and fourteen of liquid, a day.† Our own Franklin, when in penury, supported bodily labor and mental effort on a limited supply of bread with water, and after his fare became less frugal, he for some years abstained from meat. These are extreme cases, and do not furnish a standard for ordinary men. The results of the investigations of intelligent and humane men, who have pursued the subject with the single desire of benefiting mankind, are such as these :

A gentleman in the 64th year of his age, arrived at the conclusion, after long experiment, that his bodily and mental vigor was best maintained by thirty-eight ounces of liquid, and eighteen and an half of solid food—in all, three pounds and ten and an half ounces a day.

A learned physician‡ found that it required about twenty ounces of bread and four pounds of water to sustain him in strength.

Another accurate observer§ recommends for a man of common stature, without a laborious occupation, "Eight ounces of flesh meat, and twelve of bread or of vegetable food, and about two pints of liquid in the twenty-four hours. The valetudinary, or those employed in sedentary professions, or intellectual pursuits, must lessen this quantity of solid food, if they wish to preserve their health, and the freedom of their spirits."

Sir John Sinclair, in his code of health, arrives generally at this conclusion. "For sedentary people, the following quantities may be recommended. For breakfast, four ounces of bread and eight ounces of liquid ; for dinner, four ounces of bread, eight ounces of meat, and twenty ounces

* Venetian weight—equal to about fourteen English.

† Equal to about sixteen English.

‡ Dr. William Stark.

§ Dr. Cheyne.

of liquid ; and for supper, eight ounces liquid food ; making in all fifty-two ounces. Those, however, who take moderate exercise, will require fuller diet ; the amount of which must greatly depend upon the quantity of exercise they take. When moderate exercise is taken, an addition of one third, or about seventeen ounces, may be allowed ; but when violent, it may require one half additional, or twenty-six ounces. With a life of much personal labor, a great quantity of food is necessary to recruit the exhausted frame. Those who are employed in common labor may be satisfied with double the quantity allotted to the sedentary, or in all, six and an half pounds, or with great labor even eight pounds of solid and of liquid food, one third of which should be solid and the other two thirds, liquid nourishment." The results of this learned gentleman were obtained by an examination of the quantity actually consumed by individuals who were then in apparent health, and not by an observation of what the system required to preserve its powers for future usefulness. He consulted facts only, as they appeared at the time, and not principles and practice, which would abide the test of time and experience. His allowance is therefore altogether too large for the long preservation of the freedom of action of the body or the mind.

The result of such an inquiry might be more nearly like this : For the sedentary, at breakfast, four ounces of bread and eight ounces of liquid ; for dinner, four ounces of farinaceous and four of animal food, with eight ounces of liquid ; for supper, eight ounces of liquid food ; in all, thirty-six ounces of nourishment. This amount may be increased under exercise, from ten to fifteen ounces. Under labor, according to its severity, it may extend from this to six pounds, and perhaps even to seven. The proportions of solid and liquid nourishment remaining always the same. About one third of the former and two thirds of the latter.*

In the liquid to be allowed for sustenance, no place is given to stimulating drinks. The deep attention which has been given to this subject by modern physicians, should serve to confirm their universal result—That stimulants are always not only unnecessary to human life, but highly injurious to the human constitution. Experience speaks on this subject

* A different arrangement would be directed by the author of this essay for the studious, who desire to push their minds to the utmost in intellectual efforts.

the language of the wise man—"Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging."

Among the solids to be taken, but a small place seems to be designed by Providence for animal food. It is found that life is endangered in fourteen days by the use of meat alone, while man may be, and in many places, actually is, sustained in health and strength on farinaceous food.

It is probable that the great mass of mankind consume twice as much as is required to invigorate the system and prolong life. Indeed, it is not improbable that two thirds of God's bounty is lavished on artificial wants, or wasted to the destruction of human life.

Nor are Christians of somewhat high attainment, wholly exempt from this unhallowed destruction of themselves, and of God's blessings. There is scarcely one who lives for God, in the cultivation of his physical powers; while some seem to live as if their "God was their belly." It may even be sometimes seen that the sensual minister dare not preach the self-condemning doctrines which require to "crucify the flesh with the affections and lusts." And it may be still more observed how frequently the word of truth falls without influence upon hearts made stupid from indulgence. The Holy Spirit will not take his abode with luxury nor dwell with sensuality. When that low standard of temperance which the world adopts is the only rule of life, disorder and disease soon pervade the system. Dyspepsia in its *protean* forms—or fever in its varied types—nervous affections in all their varieties—or chronic diseases with their wasting influences—or acute diseases with their swift destruction—or premature and sudden death, may find an easy access to a frame crowded with frequent surfeit, or wasted by long indulgence. The hurried action of the heart and vessels—the unequal circulation pressing on vital organs—the deranged function of the most important organs—and the slow or rapid failure of the whole system—these are the inevitable consequences of the adoption of no higher rule than custom, or any transgression of the laws of Christian temperance. The gospel rule of temperance is a holy standard—it makes no provision for artificial wants, and no compromise with indulgence. It stoops not to licentious custom, and bends not to created appetite. As God has formed the human constitution in accordance with these pure and holy principles, man cannot gratify his sensual appetite, by the variety,

quantity, or quality of his food, without violating the implied command of his Creator, and the clear principles of the human economy. The inevitable consequence of which must be early sickness and premature decay.

Such are a few of the leading principles on which the culture of the body is founded, as drawn from revelation, and, consequently, establishing man's moral duty. To apply these principles to particular practical duty, even under the three general heads of physical culture, which have been noticed, would be to extend the subject much beyond the present purpose; and to enter upon other topics connected with health and longevity; would elicit a volume. I shall therefore close, by making from these moral duties, a few general aphorisms for Christian direction in the culture of the body.

Let the day begin with God—that the peaceful influence of communion with him, may calm the hurried and tumultuous action of the body, in the performance of its daily avocations.

Let the early fast be broken by no more food than will defend the body from severe exhaustion, in the labor or pursuit which is to follow.

Let the exercise or labor which is performed, be in faithful accordance with the injunction, that the food should be earned by the sweat of the brow.

Let the principal food taken, be at a time when it shall repair the parts and powers which have been consumed by previous exertion of body, or of mind, rather than in anticipation of such decay or waste. So that the body shall not suffer from the increased effort of severe digestion, while it is pushed to labor; and that the mind may not be cramped in its energies, by a crowded system.

Let the sleep be regularly taken, and religiously observed to such extent as shall restore the nervous energy of the frame; but let not the bed rob God or man, of the service of one hour which belongs to them. To this end, seek rather to ascertain by experience how little will fully suffice the requirements of the system, than how much it can safely bear.

Let the clothing be designed to cover, rather than to adorn the person; and let it be only so much in quantity, as will defend the body from inclemency, and not to such

extent as will enfeeble its powers. Seek rather to inure the body to climate, than to defend it entirely from the influence of cold or heat.

Let the person be kept sacredly clean, lest the body become infected from the want of ablution, or the mind become defiled by the consciousness of an impure temple: for

"Even from the body's purity, the mind
Receives a secret, sympathetic aid."

Let a holy chastity mark the conduct and the conversation in every relation of life—lest the frame should become enervated, from undue bodily or mental excitement.

ARTICLE V.

ENGLISH TRAVELLERS.

Travels in North America, in the years 1827 and 1828, by Captain Basil Hall. Edinburgh, 1829. 3 vols. 8vo.

Domestic Manners of the Americans, by Mrs. Trollope. New York, 1832. 1 vol. 8vo.

Observations on Professions, Literature, Manners, and Emigration in the United States and Canada, made during a residence there in 1832, by the Rev. Isaac Fidler. New York, 1833. 1 vol. 8vo.

Three Years in North America, by James Stuart, Esq. New York, 1833. 2 vols. 8vo.

THE English press has lately given birth to numerous books of travels in the United States. The general peace, which leaves many active spirits without employ, and the state of England and the continent, convulsed by a fearful struggle between new opinions and old institutions, which have become more and more odious with the spread of

knowledge, wealth, and the consciousness of power among the people, have naturally drawn many visitors from Europe, and particularly from England, to our shores, curious to study the phenomenon of a popular government on a large scale. We propose now to say a few words on some of the accounts of us, which have been published by our English visitors. These accounts have naturally varied with the character and circumstances of the writers. Captain Hall, the high tory, has given full swing to his abhorrence of free institutions, and all their consequences. Mrs. Trollope and Mr. Fidler, disappointed in their hopes of reaping a golden harvest in this country, have described it with the spleen of unsuccessful adventurers. Mr. Stuart, a gentleman of liberal principles and good feelings, finds much to praise and little to condemn. The works of captain Hall and Mrs. Trollope, have excited a good deal of irritation among us. Mr. Fidler is of too small a calibre, to call forth much of any feeling but contempt.

Our sensitiveness to the remarks of English travellers, has given occasion to much ridicule in England, but it is not surprising that we should be peculiarly alive to what is said of us in the country whence we drew our birth, and in a very considerable measure our political and social institutions and habits of thought, and whose press furnishes by far the greatest part of the books read in this country. A book printed in England, which contains matter interesting to us, is instantly reprinted here, so that our whole population receives the accounts given of us by British travellers, piping hot. No country of Europe is similarly situated. The English people, for instance, have neither the same inducements nor the same facilities to read what is said of them in France, Italy, or Germany. When, however, the censures of an intelligent foreigner are brought fairly before the eyes of the English, they wince as much as the Americans do under similar circumstances. Witness the excitement of the English journals against prince Puckler Muscau's work, and at an earlier period, against that of general Pillet, respecting which the *Edinburgh Review* observes, in an article on Stuart's *Three Years in North America*, "It is singular that those who put their faith in Mrs. Trollope's accounts of American manners, should be so much disposed to censure general Pillet's equally veracious descriptions of English ladies and English dinner parties." The American

sensitiveness to English strictures, is a strong proof of the falsity of the statements industriously propagated by our defamers in England of the hostile feeling entertained towards England by the people of this country. Censure wounds deeply in proportion to the esteem felt for the source whence it proceeds. The Americans do feel, and cannot but feel, a strong attachment to England. English history, is the history of our forefathers. The soil of England is classic ground to us, hallowed by a thousand historical events, and a thousand creations of poetry and romance. The great men of English history are our heroes. Our minds have been fed, our imaginations kindled, our best feelings awakened by the literature of England. The greatest part of our knowledge of ancient and modern times, is derived from English books. Before we were old enough to form opinions for ourselves, we were imbued with English prejudices by English writers, were taught to laugh at German heaviness and French frivolity, to shudder at Spanish bigotry and Italian profligacy, and to believe that England was *facile princeps* among the nations of Europe.

The most intelligent of our English visitors, such men as Mr. Stuart and colonel Hamilton, directly contradict the absurd stories of our hostility towards England and Englishmen, which are circulated by such writers as captain Hall, Mrs. Trollope, and Mr. Fidler.

The first of these three, as our countrymen well know, is a captain in the English navy. His profession would hardly lead us to expect from him a very fair judgment of a nation whom England may justly look upon with jealousy as a formidable naval and commercial rival, and the captain being withal a tory, we need not be surprised that the tone of his book corresponds to his manners while in this country, which were such as to render him very generally disagreeable. His misrepresentations have been sufficiently exposed. We do not intend, therefore, formally to review his book, but to give a few illustrations of its spirit, and to compare his statements with those of his successors.

If he goes into a school, he finds that the master or mistress takes fire at the slightest criticism.—He goes to a cattle-show on a rainy day, and finding few women present, concludes that women are not allowed their due place in American society, although he admits that the most respectful attention is paid to them, and in another place observes, that

"it is a rule we saw universally observed in America, never to think how the men shall fare till every female has been fully accommodated."—Because he hears two lads at a public school declaim pieces breathing hostility to England, he concludes that boys are nurtured in systematic hostility to England.—He complains of being continually called on to admire.—The electioneering spirit, he observes, never dies in America; and then after alluding to the commotions which take place at an English election in Westminster, he goes on to say, "if we could imagine what would be the state of things in England, were the Westminster form of election to become general over the island, and instead of lasting a fortnight, were made perpetual, we should then have some idea of what is going on in America, at all times and seasons." From this it might reasonably be inferred, that the people of the United States are employed, throughout the year, in giving and taking bribes for their votes, breaking each other's heads, and throwing dead cats at candidates for the legislature.—In regard to the facility of obtaining justice in this country, he observes that, "The radical principles of bringing justice home to every man's door, and of making the administration of it cheap, have had a full experiment in America, and greater practical curses, I venture to say, were never inflicted upon any country." He illustrates this position by the case of Pennsylvania, in which, he says, "No person, be his situation or conduct in life what it may, is free from the never-ending pest of lawsuits. Servants, laborers, every one in short, on the first occasion, hies off to the neighboring lawyer, or justice of the peace, to commence an action. No compromise or accommodation is ever dreamt of. The law must decide every thing."—The debasing influence of democracy is continually dwelt on.—In regard to the scenery of America, he observes that, "take it all in all, a more unpicturesque country is hardly to be found any where."

The general tone of the book corresponds with that of the remarks cited. It however contains considerable truth, from which we might profit, for captain Hall, though a captious, is not an unintelligent observer, but the irritation excited by the constant manifestation of a fault-finding spirit, unfits the reader from acceding even to such of his criticisms as happen to be just.

We come now to Mrs. Trollope's book, which may be considered as occupying the comparative degree in the scale of detraction; captain Hall's book being in the positive, and Mr. Fidler's in the superlative. The captain was biassed by his toryism, and Mrs. Trollope jaundiced by the failure of a scheme to establish a bazaar in Cincinnati. She writes with spirit and even elegance, and is evidently a woman of talent. When she gets away from the scene of her disappointment, the unfortunate Cincinnati, her tone is quite mollified, and she is even liberal in her praise of New York, but the poor West is treated without mercy. She is continually on the watch for subjects of blame, puts the worst construction on what she sees, and leaves out of sight the redeeming features, so that without saying much that is positively untrue, she contrives to give a very partial and distorted sketch of American society. Her prejudices have in some cases made her credulous, and she gravely states some great absurdities. She tells a story, for instance, of a wood-cutter's family, on the banks of the Mississippi, being eaten up one night in their sleep by alligators, in consequence of having built a hut directly over a hole inhabited by these reptiles.—She informs us that it is common for the wives of eminent men to receive the title of lady, as lady Washington, lady Jackson, &c. She must have been led into this mistake by the foolish fashion of giving such names to steam-boats; but Mrs. Trollope may be assured that we have no noble ladies but such as "walk the water."—The injurious effects of democracy are a constant theme with her, as well as with the worthy captain. She tells us that "all the freedom enjoyed in America, beyond what is enjoyed in England, is enjoyed by the disorderly at the expense of the orderly," and that "slavery is less injurious to the manners and morals, than the fallacious ideas of equality."—"Nearly four years of attentive observation," she says, have impressed on her the opinion, that among the Americans, "the moral sense is on every point blunter than with us," (the English.) She ascribes to the people of the West "a total absence of probity, where interest is concerned," and a "total and universal want of manners, both in males and females." Her views on the state of religion in the United States may be understood from the following extracts.

"The whole people appear to be divided into an almost endless

variety of religious factions, and I was told, that to be well received in society, it was necessary to declare yourself as belonging to some one of these. Let your acknowledged belief be what it may, you are said to be *not a Christian*, unless you attach yourself to a particular congregation. Besides the broad and well known distinctions of Episcopalian, Catholic, Presbyterian, Calvinist, Baptist, Quaker, Swedenborgian, Universalist, Dunker, &c. &c. &c.; there are innumerable others springing out of these, each of which assumes a church government of its own; of this, the most intriguing and factious individual is invariably the head; and in order, as it should seem, to show a reason for this separation, each congregation invests itself with some queer variety of external observance that has the melancholy effect of exposing *all* religious ceremonies to contempt."

"I believe I am sufficiently tolerant; but this does not prevent my seeing that the object of all religious observances is better obtained, when the government of the church is confided to the wisdom and experience of the most venerated among the people, than when it is placed in the hands of every tinker and tailor who chooses to claim a share in it. Nor is this the only evil attending the want of a national religion, supported by the state. As there is no legal and fixed provision for the clergy, it is hardly surprising that their services are confined to those who can pay them. The vehement expressions of insane or hypocritical zeal, such as were exhibited during 'the revival,' can but ill atone for the want of village worship, any more than the eternal talk of the admirable and unequalled government can atone for the continual contempt of social order. Church and state hobble along, side by side, notwithstanding their boasted independence. Almost every man you meet, will tell you, that he is occupied in labors most abundant for the good of his country; and almost every woman will tell you, that besides those things that are within (her house), she has coming upon her daily the care of all the churches. Yet, spite of this universal attention to the government, its laws are half asleep; and spite of the old women and their Dorcas societies, atheism is awake and thriving."

"But notwithstanding this revolting license, persecution exists to a degree unknown, I believe, in our well ordered land, since the days of Cromwell. I had the following anecdote from a gentleman perfectly well acquainted with the circumstances. A tailor sold a suit of clothes to a sailor, a few moments before he sailed, which was on a Sunday morning. The corporation of New York prosecuted the tailor, and he was convicted, and sentenced to a fine greatly beyond his means to pay. Mr. F., a lawyer of New York, defended him with much eloquence, but in vain. His powerful speech, however, was not without effect, for it raised him such a host of Presbyterian enemies as sufficed to

destroy his practice. Nor was this all: his nephew was at the time preparing for the bar, and soon after the above circumstance occurred, his certificates were presented, and refused, with this declaration, 'that no man of the name and family of F., should be admitted.' I have met this young man in society; he is a person of very considerable talent, and being thus cruelly robbed of his profession, has become the editor of a newspaper."

If this story has any foundation in fact, the facts as given by Mrs. Trollope must be exceedingly distorted. She also tells us, that "the influence which the ministers of all the innumerable religious sects throughout America have on the females of their respective congregations, approaches very nearly to what we read of in Spain, or in other strictly Roman Catholic countries.—I never saw or read of any country, where religion had so strong a hold upon the women, or a slighter hold upon the men." We need concern ourselves but little, however, with her opinions on the state of religion among us, since she has evidently no religion herself, though she dares not openly avow her infidelity. The general character of her book may be said to be satirical. Captain Hall is continually getting into a fret, or flying into a passion, and vents his ill humor in scolding. Mrs. Trollope does not scold—she cuts, and sometimes with a good deal of effect. Her book is made up of satirical descriptions of conversations, parties, domestic manners, theatres, revivals, camp-meetings, &c.

The next book on our list is that of the reverend Mr. Fidler, who came to America to teach the Americans Sanscrit, and calls them all sorts of hard names because they did not choose to learn it of him. The amount of his intelligence may be understood from the nature of his errand. A man who could not find scholars to learn Sanscrit in England, deserves a place among the wise men of Gotham, for seeking such in America. But the ignorance, incapacity and vanity which he displayed while in this country, were so striking, that the American public had very little reason to trust his pretensions to oriental learning. He seems to have been an adventurer, unable to gain clerical preferment, or to succeed in school-keeping, at home, who had moved in a humble sphere in his own country, and came to America on the presumption that an Englishman would pass for a prodigy in this barbarous region. Finding that the people of the

United States were willing to dispense with his services, and being unable to continue in Canada, (where he had obtained a humble situation as a preacher,) in consequence of the discontent of Mrs. Fidler, he returned to England, and joined the goodly band of the Fauxes, Fearons, &c., the jackals who provide game for that doughty lion, the *Quarterly Review*. His book is peculiarly vapid. Every page shows his shallowness of mind and ignorance of his subject; and only the gross absurdities which he puts forth, shed a transient gleam of interest on his pages. He went through the country, as an English journal describes him, "squabbling with every man, woman and child he met," preparatory to squabbling with the whole people collectively. We will now quote a few passages, to show the nature of his observations, and the extent of his credulity and prejudice.

"The clergy of America are prohibited, by an act of legislature, from sitting in the chamber of representatives. This was not always the case, but was brought about after the following manner. One of the members of congress, a clergyman, was very desirous that some permanent provision should be made for the Episcopal church, and was urgent, with a friend of his, a member also, to use his endeavors to accomplish it. This friend, probably annoyed by frequent solicitations, and being, as Americans in general are represented, a summer's-day friend, promised his word of honor, that he would do something for the church. Accordingly, he mentioned this circumstance in congress, on the first opportunity, and relating his promise, moved that no clergyman should thenceforth sit in that house. The motion was carried by a vast majority, and clergymen, with their golden anticipations, vanished from it for ever. This was told me by a divine of eminence."

He gives the following philosophical explanation of the little use made of corporal punishment in the American schools.

"Two or three anecdotes were related, to convey to me an idea of American schools. The best teacher whom the United States could ever boast of, was a blind athletic old man, who was so well acquainted with the books he taught, as to detect immediately the slightest incorrectness of his scholars. He was also a great disciplinarian; and, though blind, could from constant practice, inflict the most painful and effective chastisements. From the energetic mental and bodily powers of this teacher, his pupils became distinguished in the colleges and universities of

America. They were generally, at their admission into public seminaries, so far in advance of other students, that, from the absence of inducements to steady application, they there, for the first time, contracted habits of idleness. They also became less obedient and subordinate to collegiate regulations than the other scholars, when the hand of correction, of which they formerly had tasted, was no longer extended over them. Thus, a two-fold evil was produced by the discipline and skill of this blind teacher. Since that time, corporal punishment has almost disappeared from American day-schools; and a teacher who should now have recourse to such means of enforcing instruction, would meet with reprehension from the parents, and perhaps retaliation from his scholars."

In the schools, he says—

"Insubordination prevails to a degree subversive of all improvement. The pupils are entirely independent of their teacher. No correction, no coercion, no manner of restraint, is permitted to be used."—He also asserts, like captain Hall and Mrs. Trollope, that "there is in the mass of the people, a deep-rooted hostility to England, a malignant envy of her greatness, and an eager wish to witness her decline, by revolution or otherwise."

The frequent fires in New York are thus accounted for.

"Fires are chiefly confined to houses built of wood, which, from frequent conflagrations, are fast diminishing. When a wood-house, in some districts of the city, has been pulled down or burnt, the city inspectors require that a house of brick, stone, or marble, be erected in its place. I was told that many wood buildings, when favorably situated for business, and let upon long leases, are annually burnt down by some secret incendiary, employed by the landlord. He finds, in such case, that it is his interest to accomplish this; and his tenant's goods and stores are but slight impediments. The value of ground lots has, in some situations, increased so much as to render a wood tenement a matter of no importance. The wood-house once burnt down, the tenant finds himself obliged either to build a fire-proof house, or to evacuate his lease. In either case the landlord is a gainer."

"No native American (says Mr. Fidler) will ever engage in the capacity of a servant. Menial offices must all be performed by others. To call a free-born republican a servant, would be degrading him to the level of a slave."

These specimens will suffice to show the character of Mr.

Fidler's book. The man is too insignificant to make it worth while to spend many words upon him ; and we pass to Mr. Stuart.

Mr. Stuart is a Scotch gentleman, of much superior standing to most of our British visitors, and totally opposite in the tone of his descriptions to the three individuals whose accounts we have been noticing. He seems disposed to see every thing in the most favorable light, and is indulgent, even where he cannot praise. In fact, his book would have been more interesting, if it had been less laudatory. Mr. Stuart goes vastly more into detail than captain Hall, or Mrs. Trollope. His book is a sort of journal of all that he saw or learned, during a residence of three years in the United States. His object seems to have been to furnish his countrymen with a copious storehouse of facts, from which they might form opinions for themselves, rather than to present them merely with the results which the scenes that he witnessed had left on his own mind. His statements and opinions continually conflict with those of captain Hall and Mrs. Trollope. We have already cited a passage from captain Hall, respecting the electioneering tumults which he says prevail throughout the United States, at all times. Mr. Stuart seems to have found the state of things very different.

"It was on the 5th November that I was present at the election at Ballston Spa, held in one of the hotels, about the door of which twenty or thirty people might be standing. My friend Mr. Brown introduced me, and got me a place at the table. I must confess that I have been seldom more disappointed at a public meeting. The excitement occasioned by the election generally was declared by the newspapers to be far greater than had ever been witnessed since the declaration of independence in 1776. And at Ballston Spa, any irritation which existed had been increased by an attack made a few days previously to the election by the local press, and by handbills, on the moral character of one of the candidates,—a gentleman who had filled a high office in congress, and who resided in the neighborhood. I was therefore prepared for some fun, for some ebullition of humor, or of sarcastic remark, or dry wit, to which Americans are said to be prone. But all was dumb show, or the next thing to it. The ballot-boxes were placed on a long table, at which half a dozen inspectors or canvassers of votes were seated. The voters approached the table by single files. Not a word was spoken. Each voter delivered his list, when he got next the table to the

officers, who called out his name. Any person might object, but the objection was instantly decided on,—the officers having no difficulty, from their knowledge of the township, of the persons residing in it, and to whose testimony reference was instantly made, in determining on the spot, whether the qualification of the voter was or was not sufficient. I need hardly say, that I did not attend this excessively uninteresting sort of meeting for any long time; but I am bound to bear this testimony in its favor, that so quiet a day of election, both without and within doors, I never witnessed either in Scotland or England. I did not see or hear of a drunken person in the village or neighborhood, nor did I observe any thing extraordinary, except the increased number of carriages or wagons of all kinds, three or four of them drawn by four horses, one by six. We were residing close by the hotel where the election took place, and in the evening the tranquillity was as complete as if no election had occurred."

After some further details, he concludes as follows.

"Thus, in a State far exceeding Scotland in extent, and almost equalling it in population, the votes for the chief magistrate of the United States and his substitute—for the governor and lieutenant-governor of the State—for a senator and representatives to congress—for three representatives to the State of New York—for four coroners, a sheriff, and a clerk to the county were taken,—and the business of the election finished with ease, and with the most perfect order and decorum, in three days."—"Very soon after the election, the excitement created by it appeared to us to have altogether subsided, and no traces of ill humor seemed to remain with those most opposed to each other."

Many of the statements of captain Hall and Mrs. Trollope he expressly contradicts, or confutes. After giving an account of the steam-boat in which he went up the Mississippi, he thus alludes to Mrs. Trollope's account of one of these vessels.

"I can in no otherwise account for the great discrepancy in point of statement contained in the representation of this lady and the preceding details relative to the steam-vessel in which I ascended the Mississippi, than by supposing that our voyages were made in vessels of a very different description. Among three or four hundred steam-boats on the western rivers of North America, there are of course, good, bad, and indifferent; and I cannot doubt that the lady in question had been ill advised on this occasion, and made her voyage in a disagreeable, ill-found

vessel. She ought not, however, as I conceive, on that account alone, and without having taken the trouble to inform herself well on the subject, to caution travellers against all Mississippi steam-boats. She might as well caution a friend against coming up the Thames in a king's yacht, because she had herself been obliged to come up that river in a dirty coal-barge."

He then confirms his own statement, by referring to the accounts of two other English travellers, Mr. Bullock and Mr. Ferrall.

In contrasting Mrs. Trollope's account of the camp-meetings of the West with those of Mr. Timothy Flint, a gentleman of high and deserved reputation, he observes,

"His means of acquiring information upon such a subject as this have been so extensive, that I view his testimony as decisive, and not affected, even in the very slightest degree, by that of recent British travellers, especially of a lady, who confesses that her knowledge of a camp-meeting was derived from an irruption which she made into the heart of one commencing an hour before midnight, and concluding at three o'clock in the morning. The statements given by this lady, of the whole people being engaged in worship at eleven o'clock at night—*of public worship beginning at midnight*, and continuing during a considerable part of the night—and of private devotion again beginning at daybreak—as well as of what she saw by peeping into the tents, which the spectators, as she writes, very unceremoniously opened to her, are so irreconcilable with Mr. Flint's account of camp-meetings in the western States, with the general *rules* of camp-meetings, and with all that I have heard on this subject in quarters to be relied on, as well as with the known manners of the Americans, that I should have paid no attention to such details if they had proceeded from a gentleman; but, coming from a lady, their correctness dare not be questioned, although it must be matter of deep regret to her friends that the period at which she did not think it unbecoming her sex to visit such an assemblage as this, consisted of the hours from eleven o'clock at night till three o'clock in the morning."

"The lady to whose recent publication I refer, was herself well acquainted with Mr. Flint, and has written a most merited eulogium on his character, in which she describes him 'as the only American she ever listened to, whose unqualified praise of his country did not appear to her somewhat overstrained and ridiculous.'

"Mr. Flint's recital, relative to the religious meetings referred to, is a most interesting one; but let me particularly call the attention of the reader to the last part of it, in which he, with

the best means of knowledge that ever man possessed, relates the general salutary effects which result from such meetings in reclaiming the profane, the drunkard, and the gambler, and in producing most beneficial changes in the habits of the people. Evidence to this purpose, unqualifiedly given by so respectable a person, weighs more in the balance than all the absurd and wonderful stories which Mrs. Trollope, and many prejudiced British writers on America, have sent forth to the world. Here is a person of the most unblemished reputation, residing on the spot, and enjoying the most favorable opportunity for forming a correct judgment, bearing testimony to the great, the unspeakable advantages derived from the camp-meetings of America."

He then gives Mr. Flint's account, which concludes as follows.

"Whatever be the cause, the effect is certain, that through the state of Tennessee, parts of Mississippi, Missouri, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, these excitements have produced a palpable change in the habits and manners of the people. The gambling and drinking shops are deserted; and the people that used to congregate there, now go to the religious meetings. The Methodists, too, have done great and incalculable good. They are generally of a character, education, and training, that prepare them for the elements upon which they are destined to operate. They speak the dialect, understand the interests, and enter into the feelings of their audience. They exert a prodigious and incalculable bearing upon the rough backwoodsmen; and do good where more polished and trained ministers would preach without effect. No mind but his for whom they labor can know how many profane they have reclaimed, drunkards they have reformed, and wanderers they have brought home to God.'"

He thus contradicts Mrs. Trollope's descriptions of the religious meetings in the United States.

"Mrs. Trollope's details relative to the religious meetings of the people of the United States, and to the influence of the clergy on the ladies of that country, and most especially of Cincinnati and the western States, appear to me to be the most objectionable part of her work; and the more so, because she expressly declares (vol. i. p. 151.) that she does not describe them 'as belonging to the west alone, but to the whole Union.' I was only a couple of days at Cincinnati, and, therefore, I admit, that it is not at all surprising that I should have heard nothing of those extraordinary prayer-meetings, of which Mrs. Trollope has

given so highly-colored an account, even if they actually existed; but I certainly mixed enough in society in the western States to be thoroughly satisfied that there is, to say the least of it, most gross and palpable exaggeration in the general statements she has communicated to the public. My own belief decidedly is, that there is infinitely less hypocrisy in matters of religion in the United States, and certainly not more enthusiasm or fanaticism, than in Great Britain."

"Captain Hall, in his Voyage to Loo Choo, mentions in terms of disapprobation, that 'both writers and artists are too apt to look out exclusively for remarkable, rather than ordinary and characteristic features of the scene before them.' It would have been well that Mrs. Trollope had profited by this remark. In that case, her remarks on the religious assemblies of the United States would not, during the period she passed there, have been limited to meetings of Methodists and Presbyterians, to two Roman Catholic cathedrals, one Unitarian church, one Quaker meeting, and to one camp-meeting, but would have embraced the Episcopal churches, the Dutch Reformed church, the Congregationalists, the Lutherans, and the Baptists. In that case, it would not have been her unceasing employment to find out what she might consider as blemishes in the forms of worship—with which she was, it is obvious, previously entirely unacquainted—of part of the Christian population of the United States, and to hold them up to the derision of the public."

"Mrs. Trollope describes the men of the United States as totally inattentive to religious duties, and as never going to church. This I know to be a mistake, for I have never any where seen, except in the Roman Catholic cathedral at Baltimore, any religious meeting in the United States, in which there did not seem to me to be present a greater number of males, in respect to the number of females, than in the churches or religious meetings of Great Britain, and especially of London; but, were it otherwise, it is not pretended that at all those meetings the congregations were not composed in part of males; and is it credible, that the husbands and fathers all over the United States, would permit those *mystic caresses*, those scenes that *made Mrs. Trollope shudder*, when again and again *she saw the young neck encircled by a reverend arm*, to be repeated, or the guilty to escape without punishment? Such impostors, if they actually existed, would be more summarily dealt with in the United States than in this, or any other country. If such scenes took place once, certainly those fathers and brothers who neither cared for religion nor religious teachers, would take very good care that they never should happen again; but I am bound to say, that I conceive it to be morally impossible that such a scene as that which is said to have occurred in Mrs. Trollope's presence, at

the principal Presbyterian churches in Cincinnati, and to be constantly repeated there, could have occurred openly in any church of the United States."

"Captain Hall's statements of what he observed at meetings for religious worship in America are very brief, but very comprehensive and decided, and directly in the teeth of all that Mrs. Trollope has written upon the subject. He declares that 'he never saw the slightest indecency of any kind in an American church. On the contrary, there always appeared to him the most remarkable decorum in every place of worship which he entered in that country.'"

In regard to the conversations which Mrs. Trollope has introduced on the subject of religion, he observes,

"As to the colloquies which Mrs. Trollope has introduced on this and other subjects, especially with her servants, I must be permitted to say that I put no faith in them; I view them merely as representations of what Mrs. Trollope wishes to be believed, and I entirely adopt the sentiment of Mr. Ferrall, when he writes, 'I must confess that I never was so fortunate in America as to come in contact with any who reasoned so badly as the persons captain Basil Hall introduces in his book.'"

In the following passage, he contradicts another of Mrs. Trollope's statements.

"At this time the Irish prodigy, young Burke, was performing at the Park theatre, at New York. I saw him several times; but neither then, nor on other occasions, at the New York theatres, or at the theatres of Philadelphia, Boston, New Orleans, or Charleston, did I ever see any rudeness on the part of any portion of the male audience, nor do I believe any person would have been tolerated in sitting on the edge of the box inclosure, with his back to the performers. I mention this in reference to a statement of a contrary import which Mrs. Trollope has made, in order, most probably, to add to the effect of one of the whimsical sketches which accompany her volumes. The occurrence which she has noticed must have taken place after the curtain had dropped."

He thus contrasts the opinions of captain Hall and Mrs. Trollope, respecting American scenery.

"Dr. Hosack's grounds are so very charming, and the views from them so picturesque and striking, that I cannot help wishing that captain Hall had seen Hyde Park Terrace before he de-

clared 'North America to be the most unpicturesque country to be found anywhere.' This seems to me a most rash assertion, proceeding from an individual who merely had time to traverse the vast territory of the United States, about as large as Europe, in one line to the south and one to the north. What should we think of an American traveller who had journeyed from London to Newcastle by the east, and had returned from Carlisle by the west road, declaring England to be an unpicturesque country!—and yet he would be far better entitled in that case to deliver an authoritative opinion on the subject of England than the gallant officer on the subject of America; for he would have travelled in two directions through England, which is not so considerable in point of extent as several of the separate States of America. But captain Hall had, in fact, admitted himself to be incapable of giving an opinion upon this subject worthy of any consideration. He tells us in one part of his book, that 'there are few things so "fatiguing as fine scenery,"' and in another, that 'the most picturesque object in every traveller's landscape is the post-office,'—he acted accordingly; and has confirmed the truth of his remarks, so far as he is concerned, by omitting to take the trouble to visit the most interesting scenes easily and daily for a long period within his reach. It does not appear from his book that he ever was on Staten Island, to enjoy the views from it, though the most diversified and beautiful in America, and daily in his power. He passed through Hellgate in the dark, and never returned to see it, though one of the most singular scenes of that description in the world, within much less than an hour's drive of New York; and although he was long at Washington, he left it without seeing Mount Vernon, which was within an hour and a half's drive of him, because, as he states, the steam-boat did not pass the place at a convenient hour. It would have been absurd to point out these omissions, which are merely a sample of many that might be noticed, were it not to prove that, notwithstanding captain Hall's opinion is expressed in terms so peremptory, it is not entitled to any weight. Well might Mrs. Trollope ask, 'Who is it that says America is not picturesque? I forget, but surely he never travelled from Utica to Albany.' This is a severe question, for captain Hall travelled in the very same line as Mrs. Trollope. 'I have often confessed,' Mrs. Trollope adds, 'my conscious incapacity for description, but I must repeat it here, to apologize for my passing so dully through this matchless valley of the Mohawk. I would that some British artist, strong in youthful daring, would take my word for it, and pass over for a summer pilgrimage through the State of New York. In very earnest he would do wisely, for I question if the world could furnish within the same space, and with equal facility of access, so many subjects for his pencil. Mountains, forests, rocks, lakes, rivers, cataracts, all in per-

fection. But he must be bold as a lion in coloring, or he will make nothing of it.'

"Think of the magnificence of the rivers of the western part of the United States—of the Hudson, the most lovely of all rivers—of the scenery of the Alleghanies, running from one end of this great continent to the other, in all variety of shapes, and with numerous offsets or spurs to the right and left, covering one hundred and twenty thousand square miles, and then judge whether the sentiments of captain Hall or Mrs. Trollope, for these great doctors differ *toto cælo* on this question, are the best founded. The truth is, that all the works of nature on the continent of America are on a magnificent scale; mountains, rivers, lakes, vallies, and plains. Captain Hall, and all British travellers, cannot fail to miss the smooth pastures, the beautiful and richly-dressed fields, the hedges, and the dropping trees of England. But it is utterly absurd, that because the United States are not in the advanced state of cultivation of our own country, and because great plains, one of the grand features of the country, must sometimes be passed over, to hold that a traveller should forget the splendid, striking, and most peculiar features of this continent, and in one line, pass sentence of condemnation on the whole country as unpicturesque. Such a mode of proceeding only proves that the traveller never saw it."

These extracts will show that Mr. Stuart is a very different observer from captain Hall and Mrs. Trollope. His volumes are well described in the *Edinburgh Review*, as furnishing "a vivid and faithful picture of American life, in every part of the Union, from Boston to New Orleans, and from St. Louis to New York. We feel assured of their possessing the invaluable quality of perfect trustworthiness. The reader has every where the comfortable conviction, that he is accompanying an unpretending, candid, observing, and very intelligent man; of one, too, who has both the mind and qualities of a gentleman and of a citizen of the world."

We have thus given a summary view of the works of captain Hall, Mrs. Trollope, and Mr. Fidler, and have compared their statements with those of a liberal observer. We have already said, that it is not surprising that our people allow themselves to be somewhat nettled by the taunts of our friends across the water. But we are now so much used to them, that it may be hoped we shall bear them in future with proper patience. If a captain in the French navy, visiting England with strong feelings of national hostility, or

if a French lady, disappointed in her hopes of gaining English gold, or a French teacher, unsuccessful in his own country, and equally so in England, should, on returning home, abuse the English without mercy, we should hardly think it wise in that people to allow their tempers to be ruffled on the occasion; and it is equally unwise for us to concern ourselves about the stories of captain Hall, Mrs. Trollope, or Mr. Fidler. We cannot expect a high tory to find gratification in the practical refutation of his principles, which our country affords; and we cannot think it strange that individuals, who were dissatisfied and disappointed at home, should be dissatisfied and disappointed here. The fault is in their own constitutions.

"The mind is its own place, and of itself
Can make a heaven of hell, a hell of heaven."

As long as we can see wealth, population and knowledge increasing among us, with almost magic rapidity—as long as our country is the beacon of those who are buffeting with the storms of the old world, and the haven of those who have escaped from the commotion—we may look with equanimity on the abuse which is served up for the gratification of those who dread the influence of our example, in strengthening the hearts and hands of millions struggling to be free.

ARTICLE VI.

QUALIFICATIONS OF A CRITIC.

CRITICISM, in the most common acceptation of the term, is an expression of judgment in matters of taste. It is the application of taste to the different fine arts, and more especially, the arts of literary composition and oratory. In reference to its connection with these last, we would speak in this article.

Men in polished communities obtain, from observation and experience, many principles and rules of criticism, which are insensibly incorporated with their modes of thinking and feeling. Nothing is more natural than the exercise and expression of judgment, relative to the merits of discourse, in whatever form it may be presented to the mind. Hence the conversational intercourse of intelligent society, becomes a sort of school of criticism on the plan of mutual instruction. There is a constant action and reaction of mind upon mind and heart upon heart. The operations of judgment soon become almost, if not altogether, as spontaneous and involuntary, as the movements of feeling. Habit is to the judgment what nature is to sensibility; and as we often *feel*, without being able to state the elements of the emotion, so we often *judge*, without being able to specify the reasons of the decision.

We have, however, something of philosophy in criticism. An observation of things favorable and unfavorable in the effect of discourse, leads to a classification of rhetorical facts, and furnishes examples and rules for writers and orators. Here commences criticism as an art. Let analysis be applied to the phenomena, which have been observed and classified—let the reasons of success or failure be ascertained, and exhibited in the form of principles—and then criticism becomes a science. The decisions of competent judges, will enable a discriminating observer to determine the most natural successions of thought and feeling. And just so far as we are acquainted with the laws of mind, in relation to writing and speaking, so far are we acquainted not only with the *rules* of criticism, but with the *philosophy* of criticism.

Philosophical criticism has been called the “legislation of taste.” Its decrees are not arbitrary dogmas, sanctioned only by the authority of genius; although Dr. Johnson had too much reason for the remark, “that the laws of every species of writing have been settled by him, who first raised it to reputation, without inquiring whether his performances were not yet susceptible of improvement.” Lord Kames also observes, that “Bossut gives many rules, but can discover no better foundation for any of them, than the practice merely of Homer and Virgil, supported by the authority of Aristotle. Strange! that in so long a work, he should never once have stumbled upon the question, whether and how far,

do these rules agree with human nature." Pope had a correct view of the rules of philosophical criticism :

"Those rules of old discovered, not devised,
Are nature still, but nature methodized ;
Nature, like liberty, is but restrained
By the same laws, which first herself ordained."

"We judge of the perspicuity and order of a discourse," says Dr. Brown, "by knowing the progress in which the mind, by the developement of truth after truth, may be made at last to see the full meaning of the most complex proposition. We judge of the beauty of impassioned poetry or eloquence, by knowing whether the figures, the images, the very feelings described, be such as from our observation of the laws that regulate the internal series of changes in the mind, we know to be consistent with that state of emotion, in which a mind must exist, that has been placed in the situation supposed. If all other circumstances be equal, he will undoubtedly be the best critic, who knows best the phenomena of human thought and feeling ; and without this knowledge, criticism can be nothing but a measurement of words, or a repetition of the ever repeated and endless common-places of rhetoric. The knowledge of *nature*, of the necessity of which critics speak so much and so justly, and which is as essential to the critic himself, as to the writer on whom he sits in judgment, is only another name for the knowledge of the successive transitions of feeling of the mind, in all the innumerable diversities in which it is capable of being modified, by the variety of circumstances in which it may be placed. It is for this reason, that, with so great an abundance of the mere *art*, or rather of the technical phrases of criticism, we have so very little of the *science* of it : because the science of criticism implies an acquaintance with the philosophy of thought and passion, which few can be expected to possess ; and though nothing can be easier than to deliver opinions, such as pass current in the drawing-room, and even in the literary circle, which the frivolous may admire as profound, and the ignorant as erudite, and which many voices may be found to repeat : though even the dull and pedantic are as able as the wise to say, that one passage of a work of genius is beautiful, and another the reverse, because one of them is in accordance with some technical rules, or because Homer and Milton have passages similar to

the one, and not to the other : it is far from being equally easy to show how the one passage is beautiful from its truth of character, and the other, though perhaps rich in harmony of rhythm and rhetorical ornament, is yet faulty, by its violation of the more important harmony of thought and emotion,—a harmony which nature observes as faithfully in the progress of those vehement passions that appear most wild and irregular, as in the calmest successions of feeling of the most tranquil hours.”

We regard this passage of Dr. Brown, as a very felicitous exposition of the nature of true criticism. When contemplated in the character of a science, it becomes a most interesting and important branch of the philosophy of mind. And as human nature is so endlessly diversified in its operations and aspects, it is a science of no small difficulty. It is indeed perfectly easy to praise or condemn in the gross ; but if we would announce the reasons of approbation or censure, we may find ourselves in a mortifying predicament. The simple interrogative “ why ? ” has crimsoned many a cheek, and palsied many a tongue. We must study our own intellectual states and emotions with persevering assiduity ; we must pause in the midst of our pleasure, when under the influence of the fascinations of genius, and detect, if possible, the conspiring causes, the exciting elements of the complex feeling of agreeableness ; we must register the responses which we obtain from the oracle within us, and collate them with those obtained by others from a similar authority ; in few words, we must subject ourselves to a long and laborious discipline of observation, analysis, and comparison, before we can hope to attain to any degree of respectability, as philosophical critics.

Now we do not feel conscious of any lack of candor, when we say, that a vast amount of what is termed criticism, if it is any thing better than unblushing quackery, is seldom better than the merest prattle of common-places, or an arrogant, ostentatious parade of conventional technicalities, or an insolent, overbearing, unmerciful, ferocious dictation. Reviews, it has been said, have been written in Newgate, without even a perusal of the works, to which they were applied. Even Addison “ pronounced a confident and discriminate character of Spenser, whose poem he had then never read.” Certain it is, that journals of high reputation, have given importance and currency to criticism, “ so called,

but falsely." Inexperienced young men have too often been suffered to sport with talent and worth, and do irreparable injury to the good names of those, who were richly entitled to general respect and esteem. Is it not really amusing, as well as provoking, to see with what an air of greatness and tone of majesty, a mere abecedarian, in the school of taste, will pronounce his critical decisions? Lilliputian as he is, he will gravely arraign before his mightiness, any of the giants in literature. He decides upon their merits, and the sentence, perhaps, comes forth to the public. The effervescence of precocity, heated without measure by indiscreet praise, is frequently received by the unthinking, as a marvellous emanation of genius: and the tinsel and flippancy of the veriest "fopling of belles-lettres," are dignified by the epithets of beauty and power. Is it then a matter of wonder, that authors of eminence have treated with utter contempt, the reviews of their publications? Have not some, whose pretensions to critical infallibility are not small, deserved the full measure of retributive vengeance?

"Fools are my theme, let satire be my song."

And long before this line was written by the indignant pen of Byron, the greatest master of English versification had often "steeped the naked nerve in gall." Though he wrote in bitterness and wrath, it cannot be denied, that he described a character.

"The bookful blockhead, ignorantly read,
With loads of learned lumber in his head,
With his own tongue still edifies his ears,
And always listening to himself appears.
All books he reads, and all he reads assails,
From Dryden's Fables down to Durfy's Tales.
With him, most authors steal their works, or buy;
Garth did not write his own Dispensary.
No place so sacred from such fops is barred,
Nor is Paul's church more safe than Paul's church-yard;
Nay, fly to altars; there they'll talk you dead,
For fools rush in where angels fear to tread.
Distrustful sense with modest caution speaks,
It still looks home, and short excursions makes;
But rattling nonsense in full volleys breaks,
And never shocked, and never turned aside,
Bursts out resistless, with a thundering tide."

It will be perceived from this train of remark, that we require of critics some qualifications, which are neither the

birthright nor the possession of all, who assume the name and attempt to discharge the duties of the office. Of these qualifications we would now speak more particularly. We begin with *refinement of taste*.

Not only must the critic be endowed with a lively susceptibility of the emotions of taste, but he must cultivate his power of discrimination, by that process of varied experiment, which is indispensable in the formation of a refined judgment. To pronounce decisive opinions upon works of literature and of oratory, without the aid of that experience, which imparts accuracy and finish to our thoughts, is both presumptuous and preposterous. What reliance can be placed upon the decisions of taste, when it is obvious, that for want of proper cultivation, it partakes much more of sensibility than reason, of feeling than judgment; and is palpably destitute of that correctness and elegance, which can be derived only from communion with the purest models in nature and art?

Refinement of taste presupposes some acquaintance with the characteristics of man as illustrated in discourse; that is, presupposes some knowledge of the causes of the different effects produced by the writer and speaker. A person, however, may possess considerable refinement of taste, without being very philosophically versed in the true reasons which give shape and quality to his critical judgments. He may have a delicate perception of the beautiful, and a keen sagacity for the detection of blemishes, and yet be often unable to distinguish and separate the varied ingredients in the complex emotion of pleasure or disgust.

Hence we shall mention a *thorough acquaintance with the philosophy of human nature*, as a distinct and highly important qualification of a good critic. Without this knowledge, he really has no standard, to which he can make an ultimate appeal. He may quote the authority of Homer or Demosthenes, of Milton or of Chatham, or any distinguished master in poetry or eloquence—and still the question remains—does the authority agree with nature? While the empiric in criticism relies upon precedent, the philosopher has recourse to the acknowledged sources of pleasure in the natural constitution of man.

Although some predominant principles of human nature are the same everywhere, it is certain that man varies in his character, according to the different influences of climate,

occupation, government, intelligence, and religion. The rules of criticism, founded upon the example of a successful author in one country, may be inapplicable to the work of an author in another country, though the work of the last may belong to the same species of composition as the work of the first. The rules of epic poetry, as deduced from the *Iliad*, fail, and ought to fail, when rigidly applied to *Paradise Lost*. The plays of Shakspeare would be condemned at a tribunal, where none but the examples of Sophocles, and Aristophanes are allowed authority. Hume, Robertson, Gibbon, and Mitford, have all deviated from the track of Herodotus and Thucydides. In oral eloquence too, Chatham and Erskine would not have risked some modes, or rather artifices of persuasion, which could find an apology in the names of Demosthenes and Cicero. The great masters in literature and oratory, have, with few exceptions, conformed themselves to man, as his intellectual and moral powers were developed in their own nation and their own age. Few have dared to give themselves to "the universal forms of beautiful nature," or to "paint for posterity." Seldom are men willing to climb to those higher and sublimer eminences, which a future generation may occupy. A Milton in poetry, and a Burke in eloquence, are rare examples.

As then Grecian human nature, if we may be allowed the phrase, differed much from English human nature, the rules of criticism, stated by Aristotle and Dionysius, admitting them to be correct in their application to Grecian mind, cannot be considered equally correct, when applied to English mind. This is a point of great importance in criticism. There are modes of thinking, trains of association, and states of feeling, peculiar to the inhabitants of one country, compared with those of another. It was this consideration, undoubtedly, which led the discriminating Madame De Stael to remark, that "the literature of a foreign nation cannot be perfectly comprehended." The literature of a country professes to be an expression of the national mind, and the national heart. And just in proportion as it expresses the national mind and the national heart, it comes home to the business and bosoms of the people, that gave it birth.

It is now obvious, that the philosophical critic may often be obliged to appeal from a technical rule to the authority of human nature, considered in relation to the various circumstances by which it is effected. He must also sometimes

appeal to the original impressions of truth and beauty. His opinions may be at variance with the popular taste, but the popular taste may be constrained to yield, when an audible voice speaks from the oracle of nature.

"If we consider the works of literature," says Frederick Schlegel, "by the principles of any universal theory of art, there is no end to the controversy which may arise with regard to the merits and defects either of an individual book, or of a whole body of literature; the great danger is, that we may, perhaps, in the course of our controversies, lose sight altogether of our own feelings, and forget the first pure impression which was made upon us."

The name of Schlegel reminds us of a pertinent illustration of the difference between a critic according to the principles of nature, and a critic according to the rules of art. Dr. Blair must be regarded as an example of the latter; though as a critic governed chiefly by technical authorities, we know of none more unexceptionable. Schlegel is professedly a philosophical critic. We will compare their observations upon Camoens's *Lusiad*. Dr. Blair first examines the "subject," to ascertain whether it is "great and interesting," like that of the ancient models. He follows the progress of the "action" in the poem, to see if there be any thing out of character; and concludes that "the whole work is conducted according to the epic plan." In commenting upon the "machinery," he justly condemns it for the most part, because of the unpardonable mixture of Paganism and Christianity. But his criticism, as a whole, clearly evinces, that, in examining the merits of the *Lusiad*, he had constantly in mind the technical criterion derived from the works of the ancient masters. Look now at the remarks of Schlegel. "At its commencement his poem is written in strict imitation of the Virgilian model, a constant adherence to which, was the chief fault of all the epic poets of that age. But Camoens, like his own Gama, soon leaves the servile coast-sailing of his predecessors, ventures into the wide expanse of ocean, and makes his triumphant progress through rich and undiscovered lands. As the mariner in the midst of the troubles and tempests of the sea, perceives, by the spicy gales, that he is approaching to his Indian haven, so over the latter cantos of the *Lusiad*, there is diffused the rich air and resplendent sun of the oriental skies. The language is indeed simple, and the

purpose serious; nevertheless, in coloring and fullness of fancy, Camoens here surpasses even Ariosto, whose garland he so venturously aspired to tear away. But Camoens does not confine himself to Gama and the discovery of India, or even to the sway and achievements of the Portuguese of his age; whatever of chivalrous, great, beautiful, or noble, could be gathered from the traditions of his country, has been inweaved and embodied into the web of his poem. It embraces the whole poetry of his nation: among all the heroic poets of ancient or of modern times, there has never, since Homer, been any one so intensely national, or so loved and honored by his countrymen, as Camoens. It seems as if the national feelings of the Portuguese, excluded from every other subject of meditation by the degraded condition of their empire, had centered and reposed themselves in the person of this poet—considered by them, and worthy of being considered by us, as supplying the place of a whole troop of poets, and as being in himself a complete literature to his country."

The difference between the complexion of this criticism and that of Blair, is too palpable to escape notice. Every one must perceive, that while Blair was contemplating the *form* and *habiliments*, Schlegel was enthusiastically inspecting and anatomizing the *soul* of the poem; and while Blair was satisfied with the epic plan and its general execution, Schlegel was in a sort of ecstasy in view of the masterly delineation of human nature, as diversified by the national peculiarities of the Portuguese.

Enough has been said in illustration of our remark, that a thorough knowledge of the philosophy of human nature, is an important qualification of a good critic. Refinement of taste united with this, implies an acquaintance with general history, and an experience in analyzing works of literature and eloquence. Upon these topics it would be easy to enlarge. But we pass on to the consideration of another requisite in criticism—a *good temper*.

It was observed by Shenstone, that "good taste and good nature, are inseparably united." It may be, that there can be no "good taste" without "good nature;" but do not some men of good taste evidently criticise with *ill* nature? Let a man be out of humor from any cause, let him be vexed or irritated, and he is very far from being in a mood for candid, impartial criticism. Was Byron in a mood for such criticism,

when he wrote his "English Bards, and Scotch Reviewers?" To what but an habitual morbidness of temperament, or perhaps it may be termed a jealous pride of literary character—a dogmatical idiosyncrasy—can be attributed many of the blistering and tormenting strictures of Johnson?

We here see the reason why *authors* are frequently the very worst critics. Few there are, who are not tempted to undervalue the works of competitors, and to utter "faint praise," at best, even when the voice of the community is loud in reiterating the notes of panegyric. When an author takes the pen of the critic, he is liable to remember some animadversion, just or unjust, upon himself; and as

"No man e'er feels the halter draw,
With good opinion of the law,"—

he determines to make "company" for his "misery," and wreaks his resentment upon innocence as well as guilt. An amiable temper may be turned into the gall of bitterness. Some chapters in the literary history of Addison, Pope, and many others, cannot be remembered without a mortifying sense of the weakness of our nature. Authors have so often showed themselves to great disadvantage as critics, that the example should be an effectual admonition to the whole fraternity. Envy, jealousy, chagrin, ambition, are all dangerous guides in the field of criticism. Let no man speak of a competitor, or write a review, unless he has good nature in full exercise, even when his words must be sharper than a two edged sword. Let every man "wipe his heart," as well as his eyes, before he commences the operation. "Honor to whom honor is due," is a good maxim; and another maxim equally good, but more difficult in the observance, is this—"In honor, preferring one another." When a good taste has its perfect work, it will be in love with excellence, wherever it appears. It will find a luxury of gratification in the *beauties* of a performance, and never be grinning a contemptuous (and contemptible) exultation at the discovery of some petty "spot" upon a disk of brightness.

Examples are not wanting, which are worthy of the imitation of orators and writers, in respect to the proper spirit of criticism. How ingenuous the testimony of *Æschines* to the superiority of his great antagonist, in the celebrated conflict, respecting the golden crown—"Quid si

ipsum audissetis?" How admirable Cicero's treatment of Hortensius! Par nobile fratrum. How the "father of his country" mourned the untimely decease of his illustrious rival! His heart, to borrow the pathetic imagery of our own Ames, when bewailing the death of Hamilton, grew liquid as he wrote, and he poured it out like water. "He was my companion in glorious toil. With him it was more honorable to contend, than never to have a rival." The transactions of modern literature can furnish no happier illustration of critical amiableness and generosity, than Coleridge's animadversions upon the poetry of Wordsworth.

The last qualification of a good critic, which we shall specify, is a *pure moral sensibility*. The sentiments of virtue and religion, which more or less characterize every production in literature, hold a prominent place among the legitimate objects of criticism. The purest of all beauty is moral beauty, and the purest of moral beauty is the beauty of holiness. Whatever else a critic may neglect to notice, it is a duty which he owes to his country, to the world, and to God, to scan the moral tendency of every work which passes under his review. No matter how much of genius, of originality of conception, of elegance or energy of style, there may be; no matter how much of truth to human nature, in the delineations of character; if a work breathes not throughout a healthful spirit of moral sentiment, its deformity should be exposed. Genius cannot atone for iniquity. The popular taste may be as corrupt as that of the "pit" of the theatre, or of perdition; yet the man who writes for the public is responsible, not at a tribunal of depravity, but of uncompromising purity.

Tried by the standard of wholesome moral influence, how few are the works of polite literature, which are entitled to the seal of approval! It was with

"Thoughts that lie too deep for tears,"

that we closed our first perusal of Foster's admirable "Essay on the aversion of men of taste to evangelical religion." Who that loves genius much, but Christianity more, has not agonized at the perversion and degradation of "talents angel-bright?" How seldom can we find a "work of taste," which has been

"baptized
In the pure fountain of eternal love?"

Take the most popular productions of our times, the "Waverly Romances." With all that is admirable and instructive in the sketches of human life and character, what is the moral influence? Is not every thing connected with the hallowed truths of the Bible, and the sacred vocation of the ministers of Christianity, so treated as to excite emotions of the ludicrous? That such was the design of the illustrious author, we are not prepared to believe. But if the prevailing moral impression from these far-famed volumes is favorable to reverent views of holy things, then we labor under an unfortunate mistake. If we are correct in our judgment in regard to an author, who, in most respects, is so unexceptionable, and whose rare gifts we are not among the last to acknowledge with entire cordiality, what language of condemnation is warranted by the obscenities and blasphemies of some who preceded, and some who have followed Sir Walter Scott, in the department of fiction? "If the comedies of Congreve," said Lord Kames, "did not rack him with remorse in his last moments, he must have been lost to all sense of virtue." The remark admits of very extensive application.

Not to dwell longer upon a theme, which is painfully copious, we trust that no one of our readers will question the duty of the critic, in reference to the moral character and tendency of the works which he reviews. And if it be his duty to hold up to public abhorrence every sentiment, which is at variance with a feeling of profound veneration for God, and that religion which has been washed in the blood of Christ crucified, how important is it, that he possess a moral sensibility, a moral taste, keenly alive to every profanation of the beauty of virtue, and the majesty of holiness.

The critic may derive both pleasure and profit from the practice of his art. He may experience a peculiar enjoyment from the discovery of merit which escapes the common eye. A habit of contemplating the innumerable forms of excellence and defect, is naturally suited to generate a spirit of candor, and neutralize or destroy the influence of selfishness and vanity. It is too common for men in early life to suppose that their own reputation for genius and learning, is depending upon their ability to perceive imperfections in the workmanship of others: and when they have found a real or imaginary defect, they proclaim it with high zest, as a triumphant proof of their own pre-eminence. The true spirit of

criticism, as we have already intimated, is at war with all such captiousness. The farther we advance in life, the more occasions do we find to regret the rash judgments of previous days. And the older we grow, if we continue to study the works of intellect and taste, without yielding to any untoward influences, the more humble is our estimation of ourselves, and the more candid and generous is our estimation of others.

At the present time, *inaccuracy* in composition is too prevalent to allow us to say, that

“Ten censure wrong, for one that writes amiss.”

But we must permit every man who has acquired a knowledge of the principles and rules of a just rhetoric, to cherish some confidence in his own critical opinions. If his productions are censured, he is at liberty to withhold his acquiescence, until sound reasons are offered in support of the strictures. But he may often show a noble magnanimity by entire silence, when he would lose much by a sharp reply to animadversions or insinuations. There is neither perfection in literature nor infallibility in criticism. With a respectful deference to the judgments of others, and a modest regard for ourselves, we may adopt the sentiment of Horace,—

“Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri.”

ARTICLE VII.

ARGUMENT FROM NATURE, FOR THE DIVINE EXISTENCE.

Astronomy and General Physics considered with reference to Natural Theology. By the Rev. William Whewell, M. A. Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea & Blanchard.

WITH the history of the Bridgewater treatises, of which this is the third, our readers are probably acquainted. Their

design is, to illustrate the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, as manifested in the creation. This has been done with great ability by Mr. Whewell, in the department assigned to him ; but it will be remembered that it is one thing to illustrate the Power, Wisdom, and Goodness of God, supposing his existence to be already proved ; and quite another, to prove his existence from such indications as nature exhibits. The difference between a treatise on some branch of natural philosophy or natural history, and one on natural theology, seems to be that in the latter, physical and efficient causes are considered only so far as is necessary to illustrate the final causes or uses of things, and that then these final causes are made premises from which to infer the existence and attributes of God. This is the mode of argument adopted in the work before us.

It is our purpose, before noticing this work, to make some observations on the plan which the argument from design, as exhibited in external nature, holds in producing the belief of a God in mankind at large ; and also on the real import and logical validity of that argument.

It by no means follows, because the argument from design is generally stated as the formal proof of the being of a God, that it is therefore the real ground of our belief ; for it often happens that we are ourselves fully convinced of a truth, and yet, when we would convince others, we are obliged to adduce arguments, and invent media of proof, entirely different from those on which our own conviction rests. Thus, a man may have such a sense of the excellence of the Scriptures, and of their applicability to his own case, as to be perfectly satisfied on this ground alone, that they are authentic and inspired ; and yet, if he would prove this to another, he must resort to arguments entirely distinct from this—he must go to what are called the external evidences.

In the infancy of society, and many nations are yet in their infancy, before science has made her researches, nothing can be more obscure and perplexing than the operations of nature. Design itself is often concealed, is often but obscurely perceived, and unity of design is not perceived at all ; and yet we find mankind holding on to their belief in a God, with a strength altogether disproportioned to the clearness with which design can possibly be discovered. If we consider too, the great importance to the race of a belief in a God, and the analogy of nature in regard to the mode in

which essential ideas are furnished, we may perhaps think it probable that this great idea was not intended to be entirely dependent on the varying process of induction from premises without. It may appear probable that religion, to which the idea of God is fundamental, which is afterwards to shoot higher and spread wider in its influence than any other power, should have its roots in the very foundation and elements of the soul of man. It is only on the supposition of something of this kind in the original constitution of man, that the common definition of him as a religious animal can be sustained.

Influenced by these, and similar considerations, several philosophers have asserted that the idea of God is innate; by which we suppose them to mean, that it is elementary to the human mind, and necessarily arises from the developement of its faculties and in the circumstances in which it is placed. This is certainly the case with a number of primary truths, the proof of which, just in proportion as they are elementary, is at the same time difficult and superfluous. Take for instance that of personal identity. No one doubts this, yet there are few who would not be puzzled to prove it. We may invent arguments concerning it, we may seem to be convinced by them, they may be in fact conclusive, and yet we are in the end no more certain of the thing itself than we were before.

That the idea and belief of a God are in some such relation to us, arising with more or less distinctness from the developement of our faculties, seems probable, as hinted above, from the very general agreement of mankind on this subject. No other instance can be adduced of such general agreement on any subject, the ground of which is to be found in reasoning from premises that are without. Except in mathematical truths, mankind differ in every thing that is derived from deduction, and nothing can be more diverse than their opinions. But in regard to their belief in a God, however different and futile may have been the reasons by which they proved it to themselves, yet they seem, in general, to have been equally certain of the thing; showing that they rather sought arguments for what they believed before on grounds so elementary that they found it difficult to give an account of them, than that their belief was the consequence of their arguments.

If our limits would permit, we should like to enter upon the question of the reality and legitimacy of such an idea.

This, however, is not our intention. If we suppose it to exist, it is still desirable to have a form of proof corresponding to that of the external evidence for the Scriptures. It is desirable that we should be able to state distinctly such data as shall be assented to by those who deny the existence or authority of first impressions, to divest our proof of the obscurity, which, to many minds, hangs around our spontaneous and elementary ideas, and to bring the argument within the province of our reflective and logical powers. There is no man who does not find his convictions strengthened, when his original and obscure impressions are thus confirmed by a logical process of the understanding. But if we do not suppose such an elementary belief in a God, then is it doubly important that we should state our argument from other sources in the best manner we may, since it is only from its connection with him that human nature finds either dignity or hope.

An argument, the want of which is thus indicated, is supposed by many to be found in the order and harmony of the external universe. This argument has been adduced from the earliest times, and either from its coinciding with previous opinions, or from its intrinsic weight, has been generally thought conclusive. Still there have always been those who contested its validity. The ground anciently assumed by those who denied the force of this argument, was entirely different from that which is taken in modern times. The mechanism of the heavens was then undisclosed; nothing comparatively was known of the structure of animals or vegetables, or of the processes by which life is sustained. Nothing was known of chemistry, or electricity, or magnetism, or of the weight of the atmosphere, or of the properties of light. Hypothesis assumed the place of observation, and so long as men endeavored, from preconceived notions, to prescribe the mode in which God ought to act, rather than to observe how he did act, it is clear that the figments of the human imagination must have been taken as the standard and measure of the wisdom of God. Accordingly, the question then was, not whether perfect, or at least extended order and harmony would prove the existence of God, but whether there was such order and harmony in nature. It was the sensible reply of one of the Byzantine emperors, when a priest endeavored to illustrate to him the wisdom of God from the mechanism of the heavens as then understood, that he thought he could

construct them better himself. But the progress of modern science has put this question forever at rest. Every new discovery has added force to the conviction of design as involved in the production and maintenance of the present system of things, and no man at all acquainted with any department of nature, would now say that he thought he could arrange it better himself. So far indeed have investigations of this kind been carried, and so full is nature of design and purpose, from the blade of grass to the sun in the heavens, that she now seems to stand as one great transparency, through which the workings of a designing agent may be seen. And not only so, but apparent discrepancies have been so reconciled, particular events have been so traced to general laws, and such a convergency and principle of unity has been traced in the laws themselves, as to force upon the scientific inquirer, the conviction that this designing agent, whatever its nature or attributes in other respects may be, must be one.

But while science advanced, and the evidence of design was indicated, the ground of controversy was changed, and speculative atheism increased. That great feature of nature, ascertained by the inductive logic, that she works by general laws, which are universal and unswerving under all circumstances, began to stand out more and more prominently. From some circumstances which we shall point out presently, connected with this invariable operation of the laws of nature, men began to rest in the laws themselves as a sufficient account of the events which took place according to them, or at most, to attribute their existence and efficacy to the workings of some unreflective, unconscious, adaptive energy, like the plastic nature of Cudworth, or what has been called the "soul of the world."

This is doubtless the strong hold of modern atheism. We call it atheism, because, though it admits, as it must, an energy in nature, it denies the moral character of God; it destroys accountability, and puts in the place of our Father who is in heaven, a blind and remorseless destiny. It is not however, atheists alone, who, since the revelations of modern science, have thought that the existence of a being at all corresponding to our idea of God, could not be proved from the light of nature. The religious and philosophical Pascal, was of this opinion; and recently the same opinion has been common among the German philosophers. It has also been

embraced by some in England and in this country.* Our inquiry, then, is, why this argument has not been more universally convincing; and whether design, manifested according to fixed laws, is so encumbered and obscured as to render less imperative the logical conviction of a divine and free superintendence.

The question, it will be remembered, is not whether some power exists, for that is conceded, not whether that power can contrive, for its resources in that way are evidently indefinitely great; but whether that power is a distinct, free, personal agent. If this be not true, then have we no relations to God which our moral nature can recognise, and his existence is not worth the trouble of proof.

It may be difficult to define exactly in what personality consists; but our idea of it is distinct, and is implied in almost every action of our lives. No one can fail to perceive how wide is the gulf which separates him from a thing, or from a brute, which is, so far as law and right are concerned, a thing; and no one can believe that any addition, in kind, to the powers of the brute, can make it approximate to an equality with himself. Man is of a different *nature*. The transition from the brutes to man, in the ascending series of creation, was like that from inanimate to animate being; and when nature made it, she passed a chaos across which no bridge can ever be thrown. There is a vast difference between a spire of grass and the oak that shades it; still that spire possesses every thing in kind that belongs to the tree, and is equally removed from the largest mass of unorganized matter. As the difference between that spire and mere matter, so is that between man and the brutes; as the difference between the same spire and the oak above it, so is that between man and the seraphim and cherubim above. The chief distinctive characteristics of man and the elements of personality, seem to be reason, by which we mean here, the power of distinguishing the necessary and the universal; reflection, sometimes termed self-consciousness, by which we become at the same time the subject and the object of thought; free-will, and the power of perceiving general relations, which last is by some supposed to belong to reason. Whether each of these implies all the others, we need not now inquire; but so far as we can observe, no one of them

* See Coleridge's *Aids to Reflection*, p. 119, with the note by president Marsh.

belongs to any brute ; and by the deprivation of any one of them, we should feel our personality impaired. Each of these powers must enter into every rational conception of God, as a personal agent, in distinction from nature, or some blind principle, possessing an efficacy, but without personality—in distinction from some voluble spirit, like the air, unconscious and necessitated, which mere naturalists love to contemplate as working in and rolling through all things.

All valid argument for the existence of God, must proceed on the ground of the necessary connection between every effect, or to speak more accurately, between every *event*, and some adequate cause. The relation between an event and its cause, is a fundamental law of human belief. We can no more conceive of an event without a cause, than we can conceive of body without space. How the ideas of space and of causation come into the mind, it is not our present business to inquire. That they are necessarily there is certain ; and if any man denies their existence, he gives the lie to his own consciousness, and has no ground for the assertion of any thing.

In arguing from the effect to the cause, we are not bound to admit in the cause any thing different in kind from that which we find in the effect. By this it is not meant that there must be in the cause every thing that is found in the effect, for then the creation of matter, and the existence of sin, except as eternal, would have been impossible ; but that we are bound to infer in the cause no *higher* powers than are requisite to produce the effect. To do more, would be contrary to a fundamental maxim of the Newtonian logic. It was said by bishop Berkley, that we have the same evidence for the existence of God, that we have for that of our fellow-man. When we look at his body, the material envelope, it is not the man which we see ; but from the indications of intelligence manifested through the medium of his body, we infer that that which is truly the man exists, though it escapes the cognizance of the senses. With equal, and precisely the same reason, when we discover marks of design in nature, do we conclude, though it "works unseen," that there is a designing agent. But two orders of intelligence fall under our observation, that of brutes, and of men. To each of these belongs the power of contrivance and design ; but to man, something distinctive and superior is added. If, therefore, we see in the works of nature

nothing different in kind from the manifestations of design exhibited by the brutes, then we have no reason to suppose in the power, whatever it may be, which regulates those works, any thing superior to that which exists in them; but if, on the other hand, we see evidence of the higher kind of intelligence which belongs to man, then have we the same evidence for the existence of that intelligence, in such a manner as to constitute the rational idea of God, as we have to suppose that man himself exists.

In order to determine this point, it is necessary to compare the operations of nature with those of animals, and of man respectively, and to observe in what respects they agree and in what they differ.

In doing this, we remark, first, as was noticed above, that there is in brutes, as well as in nature, the power of contrivance and design, and that this power, though limited in its sphere, yet seems, within that sphere, to be equally perfect and unerring with that possessed by nature. Nothing can be more artificial, more precisely adapted to its purpose, or, the end being given, show a more perfect capacity of attaining it, than the comb of the bee. There is not only contrivance, but in this case, as in many others, there is also prospective contrivance, which is justly mentioned by writers on natural theology, as making a strong case. The preparation by the bee, without instruction or experience, of honey and wax, against a time of need, is analogous to that by nature of the lungs, before birth. Instances of this kind it is needless to particularize. From the single fact that brutes contrive, we must infer, either that they are persons, or that contrivance does not prove personality. But it will be said that this is instinct, and that writers on natural theology refer the constitution of instincts to some higher power. Be it so; but as it is only instinct that is produced, since like produces like, it may have been only a more extended and powerful instinct that produced it. A name is nothing. We call the principle by which animals are actuated *instinct*; but call it what we may, we see a being having a sensorium, having individuality and distinct organization, producing effects similar to those produced by nature, and yet not furnishing the least evidence of personality. If, therefore, there may be an individual power, entirely dissevered from reason and conscience, and yet produce such results, who shall limit the

extent to which it may reach, or the effect, that is within its own proper sphere, which it may produce?

We remark, secondly, that in their conformity to fixed laws, and in their variation from them, according to circumstances, there is a striking analogy between the works of nature and those of animals. A perfect instinct we conceive of as acting blindly and uniformly, without any variation whatever. But no animal, so far as we know, has an instinct of this kind. They all possess a power of accommodating themselves more or less to peculiar emergencies, and in some instances, this adaptive power extends so far, as apparently to border on the province of reason. Thus, it was observed by Huber, that "those ants who lay the foundation of a wall, or chamber, or gallery, from working separately, occasion now and then a want of coincidence in the parts of the same, or different objects. Such examples are of no unfrequent occurrence, but they by no means embarrass them. What follows proves that the workman, on discovering his error, knew how to rectify it. A wall had been erected, with the view of sustaining a vaulted ceiling, still incomplete, that had been projected from the wall of the opposite chamber. The workman who began constructing it had given it too little elevation to meet the opposite partition on which it was to rest. Had it been continued on the original plan, it must infallibly have met the wall at about one half of its height. This state of things very forcibly arrested my attention, when one of the ants, arriving at the place, and visiting the works, appeared to be struck by the difficulty that presented itself; but this it as soon obviated, by taking down the ceiling, and raising the wall upon which it reposed. It then, in my presence, constructed a new ceiling with the fragments of the former one." Bees, when transported to warm climates, soon cease their accumulations of honey. Some birds that build their nests upon the branches in regions where they are secure, suspend them by a cord, when exposed to the attacks of serpents or monkeys. Cases of this kind among larger animals are so common, that they need not be specified. An example or two of the same kind will illustrate a multitude of others, that occur in the works of nature. If the large vessel, that supplies a portion of the body with blood, be cut or tied, nature will set herself at work, and will enlarge in a surprising manner the small and circuitous vessels leading to the same part, and thus,

notwithstanding the interruption of her original plan, will effect her purpose, viz. the nourishment of that part. Or, if it should be said that it is the increased pressure of the blood that enlarges the vessels mechanically, though every physiologist knows that this is not the fact, then we may take the instance of the head of a bone displaced from its socket. In this case, there will be deposited around it, after a time, a substance much resembling cartilage, and something like a new socket will be formed, giving it all the ease of position, and facility of motion, of which its situation is susceptible. In general, however, the laws of operation, both of nature and of animals, are uniform. Let them alone, thwart them in nothing, and nothing can be more perfect than the result, or more admirable than the means taken to accomplish it. But whatever power of varying from these laws, to meet particular emergencies, nature possesses, this power, call it what we may, animals possess in a still more striking degree.

We remark, thirdly, that if brutes or nature be thwarted in their operations, in a particular manner, or to a certain extent, they will still pursue those operations, in a manner which seems equally abortive and absurd. A bee will fly against a window glass a hundred times, and still be no wiser for it. The blue fly will deposit its eggs upon the *ictodes foetidus*. The hen will continue to lay her eggs, though they are constantly removed; and she will, as mentioned by Paley, sit upon those which have not been fecundated, though it is certain they never can hatch. In nature, instances of this kind are innumerable. Girdle a tree, with the exception of a small space, and, though it is evident that nature can never accomplish her original purpose of nourishing the tree, and producing fruit, yet will she pursue, year after year, her languid and inefficient attempts. If the seed of an annual plant be sown in the fall, it will sprout and grow so long as it can, though it is certain that the ensuing winter will destroy it; whereas, if the operations of nature were analogous to those of man, she would cause it to lie over the winter before it sprouted, and it would then become a perfect plant. If the duct leading from the parotid gland to the mouth be cut off, nature still secretes the fluid in that gland, not only to no good purpose, but to the entire prevention of the curative process which she would otherwise carry on. But the instance most in point, and we mention it because it

is so, is in the formation of monsters. In these cases, from some accident, the powers of nature are thwarted ; but instead of giving up her work, as it seems to us an intelligent agent would do, she will still go on, and form the most fantastic and useless combinations, still, however, struggling after her original plan. She will produce an eye in the chest, she will cause an arm to grow from the back, she will constitute animal structures entirely incapable of sustaining life—machines that will not go, she will even make them so misshapen and unwieldy, that they must necessarily destroy her own works in the person of the mother herself.

Thus far, then, the analogy between the works of nature, and those of animals, is very striking. They may both be compared in their operations to a blind man passing along a narrow track, whose course is guided by a string stretched in the same direction, along which he passes his fingers. So long as he holds to the string, he steps with perfect security, but the moment he loses that, he gropes and stumbles ; he continues his exertions indeed, but they are quite in the dark, and can hardly fail to be either nugatory or pernicious.

It will be seen that in this parallel, which might be extended, we have contrasted, and perhaps sufficiently for our present purpose, the active powers in nature with those in man. Nature is apparently necessitated and uniform ; man is free and diverse in his actions.

The existence of general and inexorable laws certainly does not preclude that of a personal being. There are many and good reasons, why, if such a being exists, it would be proper for him to carry on his administration by such laws. It may be, it probably is, the best way ; but still, so long as they move on in their unvarying consistency, we cannot infer from them alone, the existence of a being who is above law, who is not necessitated, who has in himself any thing other and higher than the laws themselves manifest.

Could this uniformity be once broken up, could this rigid order be once infringed for a good and manifest reason, it would change the whole face of the argument. Could we once see gravitation suspended when the good man is thrown by his persecutors from the top of the rock ; could we see a chariot and horses of fire descend and deliver the righteous from the universal law of death ; could we see the sun stand still in heaven that the wicked might be overthrown, then should we be assured of a personal power with a dis-

inct will, whose agents and ministers these laws were. Such an event would be a miracle, an event in its moral relations of the most amazing import. Such attestations of his being, we believe God has given, and given, too, in reference to this very feeling of indefiniteness, of generality, of want of personality in the supreme power, which the operation of general laws, necessarily confounding all moral distinctions, has a tendency to produce. But if such events have happened, they are not a part of nature, it is not nature that tells us of them, and it is only with her that we are at present concerned.

Whatever may be thought of these views, as bearing upon the argument from design, they will not be without their uses if they indicate more clearly than has sometimes been done, those peculiarities of design as manifested through general laws, by which, so far as it is unconnected with the heart, an atheistic impression is produced. To illustrate these, in connection with the argument from design, still farther, we shall make a few observations of somewhat wider compass.

There are two properties commonly ascribed to the works of nature, which if they can be proved from her own light, would seem to imply personality in the agent. These are wisdom and goodness.

Objections to the *wisdom* of nature, are derived from two sources. The first is the independent mode in which her laws act with reference to each other, the result of which is an apparent want of consistency, or of mutual understanding between her several departments. A wise man does not destroy with one hand what he has been at much pains to construct with the other. The tendency of animals to devour each other, may perhaps, when opposed to the instinct of self-preservation, be considered as a case of this kind. True it is that life is preserved and perpetuated, but it is only on the condition of death. "Life," it is true, "seats herself upon the sepulchre," but then she digs the sepulchre upon which she sits; and nature, so far as she is carnivorous, seems as it were an animal that lives only by preying upon itself. But instances are more striking when taken from provinces of nature more distinct from each other. In one of her departments, we see innumerable blossoms put forth and elaborated with the nicest care, containing, to an indefinite extent, the germs of future fruitfulness; in another department, we see the frost come, and, without remorse, cut them off in a mo-

ment. In the man falling from a precipice, we see nature, with one hand carrying on, with her wonted assiduity, the processes of life, while with the other, she is dashing him to destruction. The conflagration and tempest proceed with equal fury, whether they war with the laws of life or spend themselves upon inanimate matter. But the chief difficulty in discovering wisdom from the works of nature, arises from the fact that the real and ultimate end of her works is not discoverable by her light alone. Wisdom and knowledge are by no means identical. Wisdom is judged of from the end pursued; knowledge, from the means taken in pursuing it. Man is always a knowing, but not often a wise being. His contrivances are fitted to his ends, but his ends are folly. In inquiring, then, after the *wisdom* of nature, we must observe, not the means which she employs, not any subordinate end, but whether we can discover any ultimate end, and if so, what that is.

In looking for an ultimate end of nature, we should doubtless expect to find it, if any where, in man, since he is the epitome and crown of all that we behold. But when we observe the uncertainty and brevity of his life, heat and cold, hunger and thirst, poverty and disease, pressing upon him in that little space, when we see how all his faculties, and life itself, are, as it were, sported with, when we see the grinning idiot and the moody or raving maniac, when we see the pestilence sweep him suddenly into the grave, regardless of his aims or his hopes, when we see him in no way more respected in any of nature's operations than the meanest insect, we cannot suppose that the end of all this mighty scheme is to be found in him. This conviction is especially strengthened when we consider the disorder of the passions, all "the oppressions that are done under the sun," and in general, how the events in the moral world, whether man has to do with nature that brings all things alike to all, or whether he has to do with his fellow-men, conflict with our natural sense of order and of right. But if this end cannot be found in man, much less can it in the inferior animals, or in any thing unconscious, however beautifully organized. The instant indeed that this world is viewed as a preparatory dispensation, the whole face of things is changed. The instant we regard this visible and material structure as a temporary staging which is to stand only till the completion of the true building, which is moral, spiritual, perfect, eternal,

that instant do we discover an end worthy of this amazing scene of things, that instant do we discover *wisdom*. But this idea, nature and the works of nature do not give. To whatever extent it has existed in the minds of men, it has existed there, not from a philosophical examination of the works of nature, but from tradition, and from reflecting upon the operations and forebodings of their own minds. If we suppose, as believers in revelation do, that the ultimate end of the present system is the establishment of such a moral and permanent government, then, to suppose that we can discover wisdom in it, without a knowledge of that end, is much the same as to suppose that we could discover wisdom in the contrivances for picking and carding cotton without knowing that cloth was to be made of it. Show us the cloth, the ultimate end, and then we are willing to admit that there is wisdom in the arrangements, though we may not understand them all; but no elaborateness of contrivance for a nugatory end, or for no end at all, can discover wisdom. What we would say, then, is that the true end of the works of nature being out of, and beyond themselves, is not discoverable from them; and that without some knowledge of what the end is in any work, we cannot tell whether there is wisdom displayed in it or not. It may be true, that to a mind of great compass, like that of bishop Butler, certain general tendencies are discoverable in nature, towards a great moral result, and these, when discovered, go strongly to confirm the direct evidence for that result; but they are not obvious to the mass of mankind, and when taken by themselves, are so obscure as to leave the greatest and best minds in distressing perplexity.

Several of the remarks made in regard to wisdom, apply equally to the subject of goodness as discoverable from the works of nature. If wisdom be not discoverable, then goodness cannot be, since *goodness* is a part of *wisdom*. How can it be known of any thing whether it be good, if the end or purpose of it be not known? Particular subordinate ends may be known, but heathen nations were entirely uncertain of the ultimate end of the present state of things. Certain it is, as Butler remarks, that many of the wisest among them considered this world as a place of punishment for the delinquencies of some former state of being. It would seem probable that the opinions of mankind on this subject might vary, as they were situated in different

regions or in different circumstances. "Don't you suppose," said a brahmin to an American missionary, pointing to a bearer who was toiling in the sun, "that that man is in hell?" The Greenlander amidst his snows, the slave toiling all his life long under the lash, with no knowledge of a futurity, can hardly feel that the present world is greatly good to them. So discrepant have been the appearances of nature, the principles of good and evil have been so blended together, that many nations have imagined the existence of two beings to whom they have imputed the origin of all things, the one benevolent, the other malevolent. Between these, they have fancied a continual struggle, and not seldom have they chiefly worshipped and endeavored to propitiate the malevolent being. They knew of the sunshine and the breezes, of the flowers and the fruits; but they knew, also, of the volcano and the earthquake, of the tempest and the pestilence. In estimating any scheme, we judge of it, not so much by particular parts, as by the manner in which it works. However it may come to pass, it is matter of experience that unmixed happiness is not to be found, and that there has been and still is an appalling amount of misery on this earth. Judging then from nature only, from the result, must not the conclusion be, that there must have been a deficiency either of power or of goodness, in that which was the origin of all things, whatever it may have been?

But if we reason with perfect strictness, we shall see that these beneficent contrivances *may* not have been the result of goodness. In order to this, we must make a distinction between beneficence and goodness. The sun is beneficent; God is good. Goodness is the intentional production of happiness, but there may be beneficence or usefulness without this. The parent animal does many things which conduce to the comfort of its young, but no one supposes it to have goodness in the proper sense of the term. If there be an adaptive, necessitated, impersonal being, such as atheists mean by nature, its adaptations must tend to something, and why not to happiness as well as to any thing else? How can we know that these contrivances arise from any thing higher than that which causes the parent bird to build its nest and line it with soft feathers for its young? Nature the mother of all may be a beneficent instinct, and there exist no personal and good being.

We admit that when we follow the developement of con-

trivance in nature, and observe the infinity of her resources, when we observe the simplicity of her plan, and the diversity of her operations, how perfectly she descends to the minute, and how easily she wields the vast, it would be natural to connect with the power working all this, the highest attributes of intelligence with which we are acquainted. To do this would be the eager aspiration of every heart rightly affected, but if what has been said be correct, logical accuracy does not compel the deduction, and the argument from design falls short of being a strict proof of the existence of a personal God. Contrivance manifested, no doubt proves a contriver, but this is by no means sufficient to furnish us with the elements of his character whom we adore as Lord of all.

The inquiry then naturally arises, whether we have such a formal proof as has been sought for in the argument from design. We think we have, though it seems to have been generally overlooked by writers on this subject. To attain this, neglecting the particular argument from design, we must press the more general one from cause to effect; we must carry it upward, not merely midway in the series of effects, but must make it comprise the highest and noblest of all known effects.

In doing this we remark, that as the eye beholds all things else, but is invisible to itself, so the *mind* which apprehends other things, too often overlooks and fails to consider itself as a part of that creation which it contemplates. In looking for the evidence of a creative mind, where should we expect to find it but in mind created? As Akenside says of beauty and sublimity,

"Mind, mind alone, bear witness earth and heaven,
The living fountain in itself contains
Of beauteous and sublime,"

so we say, that in created mind alone, do we find the highest and true evidence of mind uncreated. If mind be any thing distinct from matter, it is evident that it can be known only by itself; that the exercise of the faculties of mind is the only condition on which a knowledge of the attributes of mind can be obtained, the only condition on which mind can be conceived of or recognized, and that, consequently, if we have any knowledge of God as a mind, it must be derived, not from any thing *ab extra*, but from the conscious operation of our own minds. The fallacy by which we seem to

derive our notions of mind from without, is much like that by which we suppose the existence of color in the object. We see in external things, operations more or less resembling those which mind produces, and we suppose, that it is from those operations that our knowledge of the operating mind is obtained ; whereas the recognition of any such operation as belonging to mind, supposes in us a similar previous operation with which we compare it, and without such previous operation in us from which we really obtain the idea, and by which we make the comparison, the knowledge of mind is impossible.

The brutes do not, and cannot know God, because they have in themselves, none of those elements which constitute his character as God, and man can only know him, in so far as he is made in the image of God, in respect to the *kind* of faculties which he possesses. Certainly it is only by the transference to God of the elements contained in our minds, that we can form any conception of him. If, therefore, there be any thing in reference to which we are not formed in the image of God, in respect to the kind of faculties which we possess, then, so far forth as those faculties exist in him, he is no God to us. As we can have no idea of the qualities of matter, except those derived from the senses which we possess, so we can have none of the attributes of mind, except those derived from our own mental powers. We can conceive of reason, of conscience, of free-will, of wisdom, and goodness, because we have the principles of these things in ourselves, and we can suppose them to be extended till they become infinite or perfect ; but if, besides these and other powers which we may possess, there are in God still other perfections, we cannot conceive of them, they are to us as though they were not.

The above powers or attributes are those which chiefly go to form our idea of God, and without them he would not exist as God to us. But the idea of them is not derived to us from nature, in the usual sense of that term ; they have nothing to do with contrivance ; they come to us from the fact of the existence of our minds, and from the original, spontaneous operation of the faculties with which they are endowed. We might see nature move on forever, and not have the least idea of conscience or free-will, unless we found them existent in ourselves.

Let us suppose then two systems : the one containing

contrivance more perfect, if possible, than the present; the other, and we may suppose it, for we believe it to exist, consisting of minds disencumbered of matter, possessing spontaneous activity, thought, free-will, reason, conscience, judgment, affections. Each of these we suppose to be an effect. Which of them, we ask, would give the most decisive evidence of the existence, in its cause, of those attributes, the union of which, in one being, constitutes our idea of God, that which alone would be able to conceive of him, and would contain in itself faculties and powers similar to those which he possesses; or that which would not? The answer to this question cannot be doubtful. Strange indeed would it be, if the mind, in subserviency to which the body, with its contrivances, was evidently made, which alone can apprehend God, and exhibit godlike manifestations, should furnish less evidence of his existence than the contrivances made for its convenience. Mind, it is true, is not mechanism, it is not that we know it to be a contrivance in any proper sense of that term, but it is an effect, it is an effect *sui generis*, it is the highest of all known effects, and we may infer from it, in regard to its cause, what we can infer from no other of the works of God, even that he is not only "the Former of our bodies," but "the Father of our spirits." We see, therefore, that the existence of a created mind is not only the direct and proper evidence of a mind that created, but that it is the only condition on which the conception of such a mind can be formed, or the knowledge of it brought to light. We see, also, that all the important attributes of God, those without which he would not be God, are derived to us from the operations of our own faculties, and not at all from nature or contrivance. It would seem illogical, then, to say the least, to derive the chief, and indeed the only evidence for the existence of God, from that which may indeed be the consequence of his existence; but which does not contain or indicate the main elements in which his nature and character consist.

What, then, is the state of the argument from cause to effect? Taking along with us the principle that every event must have an adequate cause, our first assertion is that something now exists. This we prove, or rather it is self-evident, from the senses and from consciousness. The inference from this is, that something must have always existed, since no one supposes that something can come out of nothing—

"*Ex nihilo nihil fit.*" Something, then, having existed from eternity, we inquire what that is. Of the possibility that matter has always been, we need say nothing, but in examining its modifications, we find marks of design and matchless contrivance; there must, therefore, have been a contriver capable of adapting means to ends. But this power of contrivance being possessed by inferior animals, and the operations of nature being, moreover, in many respects, strikingly analogous to theirs, we do not yet find evidence of the higher and moral attributes of mind; or if we discover traces of wisdom and goodness, they are so obscure as to render it uncertain whether they exist, except by chance. We pass, therefore, entirely from matter and its modifications, to mind. Here we find, as an effect, all the attributes which we ascribe to God as a cause. Here we find personality—here the true evidence for the existence of a personal God. He that planted the ear, shall he not hear? He that formed the eye, shall he not see? *He that teacheth man knowledge, shall not he know?*

It only remains to show, and we may do it in a word, that the powers that cause the grass to spring, and uphold the order of the heavens, belong to the same being who created the mind, and who consequently possesses the highest intellectual and moral attributes of which we can conceive. The body of man is one of the productions of nature, is formed in like manner, and with like proofs of contrivance with its other parts. Of this, there can be no doubt. But the adaptation of the body to the mind, and their mutual action on each other, render it certain that one being was the author of both. It follows, of course, that he who made the human mind, and endowed it with its faculties, is possessed of those illimitable powers which carry on the course of nature, as well as of the highest possible attributes of intelligence.

This intelligence must of course be present in connection with those amazing powers, wherever, through the immensity of space, the operations of nature extend. We have, therefore, as the source of all things, as the principle of unity in all things, instead of a blind, unconscious principle, which general laws would seem to indicate, and which men call nature, or by whatever name pleases them, one, free, all-pervading, all-inspecting, all-comprehending, personal God, from whose presence we cannot escape, from whose spirit we cannot flee. We have also these

general laws, now assuming the form of his stated and most wise administration, the operation of which, when the greatness of the emergency demands it, he still stands ready to suspend.

Such, with the expansion and particular applications of which it will be seen at once that it is susceptible, is the argument from cause to effect, when pushed to its proper point. Thus stated, we see not how it can be evaded by one who does not deny first principles, and thus destroy the foundations of all knowledge. It goes upon no principle or assumption, that is not involved in the argument from design, the true force of which we shall not be suspected of any desire to diminish. Our only wish is, to show the foundations on which the pillars of truth in fact rest, since they always appear more massive and imposing when seen as they really are. We cannot doubt, as men are freed from the bondage of a material and atheistic philosophy, as the knowledge of mind is seen to be equally certain as that of matter, and the great facts of spiritual consciousness are more distinctly apprehended and more fully rested on, but the department of the creation of God, which alone is in direct communion with him, will be seen to be that upon which the evidence of his being and high attributes is most legibly enstamped.

In corroboration of this, we now return to the work, the title of which is placed at the head of this article, though, as the reviewers are wont to say, we have already occupied so much space, that our notice of it must be brief. Sooth to say, the body of this article was written before this work came to hand, and we availed ourselves of it, chiefly for the purpose of showing that we are not singular in the views we have taken. Aside from its general ability, we welcome it as the first work of the kind which has fallen under our notice, in which the logic of inferring from the effect only a similarity of cause, has been adhered to. The author, it is true, takes no formal exception to the argument from design; but he does this virtually, since he bases the general argument precisely as we have done. The only extracts which our limits will allow, must bear upon this point. They will, at the same time, furnish a happy instance of the particular application of the argument of which we have spoken, and give such a specimen of the work, as we hope may lead our readers to its entire perusal.

"All men are perpetually led to form judgments concerning actions, and emotions which lead to action, as right or wrong; as what they *ought* or *ought not* to do or feel. There is a faculty which approves and disapproves, acquits or condemns the workings of our other faculties. Now, what shall we say of such a judiciary principle, thus introduced among our motives to action? Shall we conceive that while the other springs of action are balanced against each other by our Creator, this, the most pervading and universal regulator, was no part of the original scheme? That—while the love of animal pleasures, of power, of fame, the regard for friends, the pleasure of bestowing pleasure, were infused into man as influences by which his course of life was to be carried on, and his capacities and powers developed and exercised;—this reverence for a moral law, this acknowledgment of the obligation of duty,—a feeling which is every where found, and which may become a powerful, a predominating motive of action,—was given for no purpose, and belongs not to the design? Such an opinion would be much as if we should acknowledge the skill and contrivance manifested in the other parts of a ship, but should refuse to recognize the rudder as exhibiting any evidence of a purpose. Without the reverence which the opinion of right inspires, and the scourge of general disapprobation inflicted on that which is accounted wicked, society could scarcely go on; and certainly the feelings and thoughts and characters of men could not be what they are. Those impulses of nature which involve no acknowledgment of responsibility, and the play and struggle of interfering wishes, might preserve the species in some shape of existence, as we see in the case of brutes. But a person must be strangely constituted, who, living amid the respect for law, the admiration of what is good, the order and virtues and graces of civilized nations, (all which have their origin in some degree in the feeling of responsibility,) can maintain that all these are casual and extraneous circumstances, no way contemplated in the formation of man; and that a condition in which there should be no obligation in law, no merit in self-restraint, no beauty in virtue, is equally suited to the powers and the nature of man, and was equally contemplated when those powers were given him.

"If this supposition be too extravagant to be admitted, as it appears to be, it remains then that man, intended, as we have already seen from his structure and properties, to be a discoursing, social being, acting under the influence of affections, desires, and purposes, was also intended to act under the influence of a sense of duty; and that the acknowledgment of the obligation of a moral law is as much a part of his nature, as hunger or thirst, maternal love or the desire of power; that, therefore, in conceiving man as the work of a Creator, we imagine his

powers and character given him with an intention on the Creator's part that this sense of duty should occupy its place in his constitution as an active and thinking being: and that this directive and judiciary principle is a part of the work of the same Author who made the elements to minister to the material functions, and the arrangements of the world to occupy the individual and social affections of his living creatures.

"This principle of conscience, it may be further observed, does not stand upon the same level as the other impulses of our constitution by which we are prompted or restrained. By its very nature and essence, it possesses a supremacy over all others. 'Your obligation to obey this law is its being the law of your nature. That your conscience approves of and attests such a course of action is itself alone an obligation. Conscience does not only offer itself to show us the way we should walk in, but it likewise carries its own authority with it, that it is our natural guide: the guide assigned us by the author of our nature.'* That we ought to do an action, is of itself a sufficient and ultimate answer to the questions, *why* we should do it?—how we are *obliged* to do it? The conviction of duty implies the soundest reason, the strongest obligation, of which our nature is susceptible.

"We appear then to be using only language which is well capable of being justified, when we speak of this irresistible esteem for what is right, this conviction of a rule of action extending beyond the gratification of our irreflective impulses, as an impress stamped upon the human mind by the Deity himself; a trace of His nature; an indication of His will; an announcement of His purpose; a promise of His favor: and though this faculty may need to be confirmed and unfolded, instructed and assisted by other aids, it still seems to contain in itself a sufficient intimation that the highest objects of man's existence are to be attained, by means of a direct and intimate reference of his thoughts and actions to the Divine Author of his being.

"Such, then, is the Deity to which the researches of natural theology point; and so far is the train of reflections in which we have engaged, from being merely speculative and barren. With the material world we cannot stop. If a superior Intelligence *have* ordered and adjusted the succession of seasons and the structure of the plants of the field, we must allow far more than this at first sight would seem to imply. We must admit still greater powers, still higher wisdom for the creation of the beasts of the forest with their faculties; and higher wisdom still and more transcendent attributes, for the creation of man. And when we reach this point, we find that it is not knowledge only, not power only, not foresight and beneficence alone, which we

* Butler, Sermon 3.

must attribute to the Maker of the World; but that we must consider him as the Author, in us, of a reverence for moral purity and rectitude; and, *if the author of such emotions in us, how can we conceive of Him otherwise, than that these qualities are parts of his nature*; and that he is not only wise and great, and good, incomparably beyond our highest conceptions, but also conformed in his purposes to the rule which he thus impresses upon us, that is, Holy in the highest degree which we can imagine to ourselves as possible."—pp. 202, et. seq.

Again:

"But with sense and consciousness the history of living things only begins. They have instincts, affections, passions, will. How entirely lost and bewildered do we find ourselves when we endeavor to conceive these faculties communicated by means of general laws! Yet they are so communicated from God, and of such laws he is the lawgiver. *At what an immeasurable interval is he thus placed above every thing which the creation of the inanimate world alone would imply*; and how far must he transcend all ideas founded on such laws as we find there!"—p. 278.

To these it will suffice to add a single brief extract; and we do it, partly because it seems indirectly to recognize the truth of the assertion made by some, that our capacity of conceiving of God, is itself a proof of his existence.

"It would indeed be extravagant to assert that the imagination of the creature, itself the work of God, can invent a higher point of goodness, of justice, of holiness, than the Creator himself possesses: that the Eternal Mind, from whom our notions of good and right are derived, is not himself directed by the rules which these notions imply."—p. 282.

There are several parts of this work which we would gladly notice; but we can only commend to the especial attention of our readers the two original chapters, one on inductive, the other on deductive habits. In these the author shows, together with the reason of it, that the great discoverers in the several departments of nature have been theists; and accounts philosophically for the deplorable atheism of such men as Laplace.

ARTICLE VIII.

INFLUENCE OF MORAL TRUTH ON THE UNDER-
STANDING.

THE adaptation of the Christian religion to invigorate the human understanding, like its tendency to improve all and each of the other faculties of the soul, has never yet received that attention which it ought, and which it eventually will receive from moral and mental philosophers. We are glad to commit ourselves both in writing and in speaking, upon this subject whenever a fair opportunity occurs, for we firmly believe it to be one of interesting and instructive discovery.

At present, we ask the attention of our readers to but one of the aspects in which this subject presents itself to the mind;—the adaptation of a correct religious faith, when embraced by the understanding, but especially when experimentally felt by the heart—to keep the deductions of the intellect in harmony with *facts*.

The God of heaven has instituted so intimate a connection between his providence and his word, that we daily meet with facts exhibited in the one, which can only be satisfactorily explained by the truths which are recorded in the other. If a disbeliever in those truths undertakes to reason upon such facts, although he may proceed very well for a little way, by mingling perhaps a little truth forced upon him by conscience, with much error—still he cannot hold out long in the support of his own theory. He will find it to be continually at war with the things which he is constantly meeting, and he will be embarrassed, and he will hesitate; or, finding himself hindered thus by insurmountable difficulties in his apparently eloquent and successful career, he will beg, after the manner of some popular writers of the present day, whom we could designate if required—not to be misunderstood; and without attempting to push his theory to its legitimate consequences, by cutting his way through a huge wall of opposing facts, he will leave that part of the field for better and greater men to clear, and go to some other part of the subject, less at war with what he has been advancing,

and not requiring such close thought, and minute analysis, and clear illustration.

If we take the great and solemn truth of the depravity of the human heart, rightly explained, allowing to men in their natural state, warm social affections, and not asserting that every one is just as bad, in every particular, as he can be, nor affirming that there are no degrees in iniquity; but maintaining that mankind are not naturally actuated by the emotion of supreme love to God, and impartial love to men, and that therefore all their thoughts, words, and actions, until they experience a moral change, are selfish and therefore sinful:—If we take this doctrine, and choose from among the multitude two men of acute minds and equal natural talents; one of whom receives it as true, while the other rejects it as false; we shall find that in discussing any question of right and wrong, either in political or civil government, he who recognizes the doctrine as true, will exhibit the greater degree of intellectual power, and the more commanding eloquence. His theory will correspond with facts. He can take up illustrations of the principles he advances from every page in the long history of man, and from the occurrences of common life around him, during each day of his existence. He can thus commend himself to every man's conscience. As he declares his sentiments to his fellow-men, either in writing or in words, their own experience and observation will go along with him; nature will bear witness for him, and echo back his words of wisdom from every corner of her secret places.

Analyze, with this principle in view, the treatise of Burke on the French revolution; or the speech of Sheridan in the British parliament, in behalf of the Begums of India; or that of the earl of Chatham, in favor of the colonies of America; and it will be found, if we mistake not, that the cause which imparts to these compositions much of their power over mankind, is their general accordance with moral facts, which the consciences and experience of all men testify to be true. Each of them implies the depraved moral character of man, and the necessity of a strong influence over his moral faculties, to make him what he ought to be. If we consult the orators of our own country, we shall find that the same principle is developed. The great cause which gives to them their force, consists not so much in their noble bursts of feeling, and noble sentiments of patriotism, as in the strong

lines of moral truth which are interwoven with the warp and woof of their texture. A perusal of the speech of a living orator, delivered in the senate of our country, on a resolution concerning the public lands, will present an interesting illustration of this. In the whole of his lucid exposition of the constitution, there may be traced a striking recognition of the great principles of the law of God, promoting, as it does, the greatest good of each part of the moral system, by a noble and impartial attention to the general welfare of the whole. It occurred to us very forcibly while we read it, that the moral influence of New England preaching might there be seen, instilling, imperceptibly, but effectually, the principles of the moral government of God into the mental habits of her children.

We may betake ourselves even to heathen history, and choose from Sallust, or Tacitus, or Livy, the speeches of the mighty of other days; and it will be found that the productions which are calculated to live the longest, and which excite the highest degree of interest and admiration in all succeeding generations, are those in which we find the greatest amount of moral truth expressed or implied. This causes them to accord with facts which are developed in all ages of the world; and we can therefore conceive of no possible combinations of things in the history of man, where there will not be a niche in the temple of fame to be occupied by them. They will always, as now, be presenting sentiments to be cited and pondered on, as proverbs of wisdom, by thinking men, because they commend themselves to the consciences of men—they show “the work of the law written in their hearts”—they are the echoes of truths which the voice of nature hath spoken, trumpet-tongued, from the works of God, and they harmonize, throughout all time, with the lessons which are delivered in His word.

Thus, as we analyze the greatest literary productions of past or present times, we find that a correct moral theory is essential to the permanent effects of the intellect of man. This alone, as it is expressed or implied, can cause the productions of his genius to live, for this alone causes them to harmonize with facts. It is only the righteous, or those who have recorded the principles of the righteous, who shall be had in everlasting remembrance. The name of the wicked shall rot. It is at once interesting and instructing to observe, as we look over those productions of the human understand-

ing which have survived the lapse of ages, how the principles of truth, like the "*disjecta membra*" of poetry, found amid the analyzed productions of every true son of the muses, are seen scattered amid all these efforts of mind, as the salt whose savor has preserved them from destruction, amid the mass of universal decay. Shakspeare lives, and will never die while our language is spoken, because his writings, more than any others, perhaps, which have ever been composed by uninspired men, strike principles of human nature which are every where developed, and acknowledged to be true. Burns will live long, for the same reason. As it has been sublimely written of one of them, "the stream of time, which is continually wearing away the dissoluble fabrics of other poets, passes, without injury, by the adamant of these." Cowper shall also live—long may he live!—for *he* has cast into the stream of his numbers the salt of moral, as well as natural truth. Milton shall flourish by his side, for the same reason. These men came forth like the Roman warriors after victory, bearing in their hands the "*spolia opima*" of genius, and suspending them, as imperishable mementos of their prowess, on the column of eternal truth.

The practical bearing of these principles, in their effect upon style in writing or speaking, is, we conceive, of great importance. Modified as style may be, and undoubtedly is, by other peculiar characteristics of mind, still we are confident that a correct moral theory, either expressed or implied, can have no slight influence in forming it. That man can surely never express himself clearly, strongly, and concisely, whose moral principles are not founded upon facts. He will be conscious of a weakness, which is afraid and unable to penetrate the depths of things. He will "linger, shivering on the brink" of the great ocean of thought, and therefore his style of writing or speaking what few meditations he may have managed to scoop up from the shore, must be comparatively feeble. This is one great reason why an incorrect, imperfect religious theory, in a country, is ever followed, sooner or later, by a deterioration in strong and noble writing. The weakness which is afraid to follow on where truth leads, into regions however mysterious, is a weakness which always whimpers ere long, in a kind of morbid, unmanly sentimentalism, produced by a conviction of its own imbecility and want of moral courage. This is a strong reason for desiring that the literature of a country, es-

pecially of our own, should be in the hands of religious truth. We owe a duty to the taste of our countrymen, in this respect, which it becomes us most diligently to perform, so far as we have any ability ; and which, if performed sedulously and carefully, will be sure to produce a literature noble and lasting, but above all, purifying in its effects upon the people.

ARTICLE IX.

SPANISH POETRY.

Coplas de Don Jorge Manrique, translated from the Spanish ; with an Introductory Essay on the Moral and Devotional Poetry of Spain. By Henry W. Longfellow, Professor of Mod. Lang. and Lit. in Bowdoin College. Boston : Allen & Ticknor, 1833. pp. 89.

THE principal poem in this little volume is the one composed by Don Jorge Manrique, on occasion of the death of his father, Rodrigo Manrique. This poet flourished in the last half of the fifteenth century. He followed, like most of the other distinguished Spanish poets, the profession of arms, and served in the Moorish wars, under his father's banners. He was mortally wounded in a skirmish, in the year 1499. Mariana, in his history of Spain, speaks of him as a youth of estimable qualities, who died young, 'and was thus cut off from exercising and exhibiting to the world his many virtues, and the light of his genius, which was already known to fame.' We quote a few stanzas from his ode.

" I will not here invoke the throng
Of orators and sons of song,
The deathless few ;
Fiction entices and deceives,

And, sprinkled o'er her fragrant leaves,
Lies poisonous dew.
To One alone my thoughts arise,
The Eternal Truth—the Good and Wise,
To Him I cry,
Who shared on earth our common lot,
But the world comprehended not
His deity.

“ This world is but the rugged road
Which leads us to the bright abode
Of peace above ;
So let us choose that narrow way,
Which leads no traveller's foot astray
From realms of love.
Our cradle is the starting-place,
In life we run the onward race,
And reach the goal,
When in the mansions of the blest
Death leaves to its eternal rest
The weary soul.

“ Did we but use it as we ought,
This world would school each wandering thought
To its high state.
Faith wings the soul beyond the sky,
Up to that better world on high,
For which we wait.
Yes—the glad messenger of love,
To guide us to our home above,
The Saviour came ;
Born amid mortal cares and fears,
He suffered in this vale of tears
A death of shame.”

“ Monarchs, the powerful and the strong,
Famous in history and in song
Of olden time,
Saw, by the stern decrees of fate,
Their kingdoms lost, and desolate
Their race sublime.
Who is the champion ?—who the strong ?
Pontiff, and priest, and sceptered throng ?
On these shall fall
As heavily the hand of death,
As when it stays the shepherd's breath
Beside his stall.”

"Where are the high born dames, and where
Their gay attire, and jewelled hair,
And odors sweet ?
Where are the gentle knights, that came
To kneel, and breathe love's ardent flame
Low at their feet ?
Where is the song of Troubadour ?
Where are the lute and gay tambour
They loved of yore ?
Where is the mazy dance of old,
The flowing robes inwrought with gold
The dancers wore ?"

"O death, no more, no more delay ;
My spirit longs to flee away,
And be at rest ;
The will of heaven my will shall be,—
I bow to the divine decree,
To God's behest.
My soul is ready to depart,
No thought rebels, the obedient heart
Breathes forth no sigh ;
The wish on earth to linger still
Were vain, when 't is God's sovereign will
That we shall die.

"O Thou, that for our sins didst take
A human form, and humbly make
Thy home on earth ;
Thou, that to thy divinity
A human nature didst ally
By mortal birth,—
And in that form didst suffer here,
Torment, and agony, and fear,
So patiently ;
By thy redeeming grace alone,
And not for merits of my own,
O pardon me !"

"As thus the dying warrior prayed,
Without one gathering mist or shade
Upon his mind,
Encircled by his family,
Watched by affection's gentle eye,
So soft and kind,
His soul to Him, who gave it, rose ;—
God lead it to its long repose,
Its glorious rest !

And though the warrior's sun has set,
Its light shall linger round us yet,
Bright, radiant, blest."

The volume concludes with two beautiful sonnets from Lope de Vega, two from Francis de Aldaña, and two from Francis de Medrano.

In an introductory essay of twenty-seven pages, Mr. Longfellow describes the qualities of the Spanish devotional and moral poetry, illustrated by examples. He enters into his subject with the fine spirit of a scholar and a poet. The most prevailing characteristics of Spanish devotional poetry are warmth of imagination, and depth and sincerity of feeling. 'The conception is always striking and original, and when not degraded by dogmas, and the poor, puerile conceits arising from them, beautiful and sublime.' Amidst all the shameful corruption of the middle ages, 'many a pure spirit, through heavenly-mindedness, and an ardent, though mistaken zeal, fled from the temptations of the world, to seek in solitude and self-communion, a closer walk with God.' Of this class were the principal poets.

We doubt whether the cloisters of the middle ages exhibited so many examples of holy living as Mr. Longfellow seems to intimate; but doubtless there were some, who, like Thomas à Kempis, shone as stars in a gloomy night, or sprung up like lilies in a stagnant pool.

We are grateful to Mr. L. for these beautiful specimens of poetry. We think he will do a great service, if he shall be the means of removing any of those unnatural prejudices, with which we regard almost every thing associated with Spain, and which, we doubt not, prevent us from taking that deep interest in her lamentable political and spiritual condition, which it becomes us, as philanthropists and as Christians, to feel. We are too apt to think that all good poetry is confined to England, and all fine criticism to Germany, and all scientific analysis to France. The labors of a few such men as Bowring, and Bryant, and Longfellow, are undeceiving us. Where are there more stately verses than these of Manrique? Where, in uninspired song, is the Eternal One addressed in more befitting strains, than in the ode of the Russian poet, Derzhaven? Where, in the compass of poetry, can be found more delicious melodies, than in the poem beginning

"Region of life and light?"

ARTICLE X,

CHINESE VOYAGES.

The Journal of Two Voyages along the coast of China, in 1831, and 1832; the first in a Chinese junk; the second in the British ship Lord Amherst: with notices of Siam, Corea, and the Loo-choo islands; and remarks on the policy, religion, etc., of China. By Charles Gutzlaff. New York: John P. Haven. 1833. pp. 342.

MR. GUTZLAFF, the author of these narratives, is a native of Prussia, and is a missionary of the Netherlands society. The energy and faith of primitive days seem to have revived in him. After laboring several years in Siam, he went on board a Chinese junk, and under the disguise of a native dress and a naturalized character, performed a voyage along the coast of China, extending from June to December, 1831. He found many opportunities to distribute books and tracts, and in personal conversation, to direct the minds of his fellow-passengers and others from the absurdities of their religious creed, to the Saviour of the world. His skill in administering medicines, and his practical and extensive acquaintance with natural philosophy and astronomy, awakened a strong interest in his behalf, and were the means of conciliating much attention to his character as a spiritual adviser. The details of this voyage have been published in successive numbers of the Chinese Repository, a monthly journal published at Canton. Many extracts have found their way into American periodicals.

On the 26th of February, 1832, Mr. Gutzlaff commenced the second voyage, on board the Lord Amherst, captain Rees, an English country ship, chartered for the occasion, by the East India Company, under the direction of H. H. Lindsay, Esq., of the company's establishment in China. After an eventful voyage, the Lord Amherst reached Macao on the 4th of September. She visited several ports of Canton province, the western side of the island Formosa, Amoy, Fuh-chow-foo, the capital of Fuhkeen, Ning-po in Che-keang and the neighboring islands, Shantung, Corea,

and the Loo-choo group of islands. The medicines and books distributed by Mr. Gutzlaff were joyfully, and in some places, eagerly accepted.

To show the manner and spirit of the journalist, we select the following paragraphs.

"While musing thus, I turned and saw a poor man carrying a burden, but willing to converse upon the things of eternal life. I felt consoled by this, and rejoiced that I was permitted to tread upon these barren hills. To-day we entered a village at the foot of a very high hill, and were gladly received by the inhabitants. They did not hesitate to converse freely upon any topic which we introduced. I had the pleasure to add a few books to the well-worn library of an old man, which he carefully examined. The houses were built very substantially, and kept tolerably clean; but the occupants were very poor people, of whom the male part were either at work at Amoy, or were gone to foreign parts. At the beach we were shocked at the spectacle of a pretty new-born babe, which shortly before had been killed. We asked some of the bystanders what this meant. They answered with indifference, 'it is only a girl.' It is a general custom in this district to drown female infants immediately after their birth. Respectable families seldom take the trouble, as they express themselves, to rear these useless girls. They consider themselves the arbiters of their children's lives, and entitled to take them away when they can foresee that their prolongation would only entail misery. As the numerous emigration of the male population renders it probable that their daughters, if permitted to live, would not be married, they choose this shorter way to rid themselves of the incumbrance of supporting them."

"April 22. It is the commemoration of the Lord's resurrection. How far from all Christian society! How long have I been separated from the communion of the saints!

"We arrived to-day in the harbor of Fuh-chow, after having, the day before, slightly touched the ground. The whole atmosphere is shrouded in darkness, which obscured the landmarks at the entrance of the harbor; yet we had excellent pilots on board, who brought us in safely. We are now come to that district whence the greatest quantity of tea is furnished for consumption in Europe.

"The hills where the tea is cultivated, stretch abroad in every direction. The soil does not yield a sufficient quantity of rice for home consumption; however, the exports of timber, bamboo, and teas, more than balance the imports of rice and cotton. The whole region is very romantic: ridges of undulating hills, naked in part, and partly cultivated, in form of terraces, up to the top, give the whole a most picturesque aspect. The river, which

leads up to the capital, is broad and navigable as far as the city. Here are no fragments of ancient edifices, or other classic ruins, but a display of Chinese industry and skill in all its variety. The villages and hamlets are very numerous all along the river; often in beautiful situations. The Dutch anciently traded at this port; but even the remembrance of it is now lost. Our appearance, therefore, struck the inhabitants with astonishment. The entrance of the river is in lat. $26^{\circ} 6'$, lon. $119^{\circ} 55'$. As soon as we had anchored, we were visited by the inhabitants of the adjacent village. They made no inquiries after trifles, but were anxious to ascertain the prices of our cargo, and invited us to their village. Fertile fields, sown with wheat, naked rocks, and plains of sand, gave a diversified aspect to the whole environs. We visited our friends in their houses, and held very long conversations with them, principally upon trade. They received the books with hearty pleasure, and read them most diligently. After going through the village, and scrambling over several cliffs, we were intending to return, but were pressingly invited by a merchant, to partake of a supper, which he had prepared for us in a public hall. We supped, therefore, upon very good fare, among an immense crowd, who were extravagantly delighted to see us their guests, and urgent that we should partake freely of their refreshments. We felt very happy in the midst of these cheerful people, who did not act on the principle of the mandarins, that barbarians must be treated as enemies."

"April 26. Mr. L. and the captain took proper care that the unjust punishments of the natives, who might approach us, should not be repeated here, as at Amoy. We were visited by the mandarin of this district, a civil and sagacious old man. He had received orders from the deputy-governor of Fuhkeen province to procure a certain number of our Christian books for the inspection of the emperor. I gave him, accordingly, one copy of 'Scripture Lessons,' a tract on gambling, 'Heaven's Mirror,' a full delineation of Christianity, besides a few other books of which he had copies before. I was highly delighted that God, in his wisdom, was sending his glorious gospel to Peking, that it might be fully examined and known in the palace. Taoukwang has never shown himself an enemy to popery. In all his edicts against the sects and heresies in his dominions, he does not even mention the name of Christian. Though I know nothing of his character, except that he delights more in pleasure than in business, I humbly hope that the perusal of the word of God will impress his mind favorably towards the gospel. It is the first time that the Chinese government has taken the trouble to examine the oracles of God. The depravity of the human heart, which is as great in the rulers of China as any where, I fear will not permit them to perceive the glory of God in a crucified Saviour. Yet it is the cause of God."

"Whilst we were at Ning-po, we received a list of the ships which had formerly been at this port. They seemed to be very numerous; but at the present time no traces of the foreign trade are to be seen, though the old people retain still a faint remembrance of the foreigners. Here the celebrated Jesuits from France, near the end of the seventeenth century, landed, and obtained permission to settle at Peking. Two of them became the constant attendants of the emperor, Kang-he, in all his travels, and were the partners of his dangers in the Tartarian war. What great results might one have expected from such an opportunity both to benefit the highest personages in the empire, and to impart to the people the blessings of Christianity? In these hopes we have been greatly disappointed. Instead of introducing the reign of truth, they created intrigue; in lieu of pure religion, they spread popery. Though possessing the greatest talents, they never devoted them simply to the glory of their Saviour; they never employed them in giving to the benighted heathen, in their own language, the blessed gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ. This is truly lamentable; that they should bestow such labors, encounter such sacrifices, and defend their tenets with such heroism, to found an *earthly religion*, which confers few blessings in this life, and leads to a doubtful eternity. In offering these sentiments, there is no design to depreciate their talents, or to vilify their religious zeal; but it is the language of deep regret to see the salvation of the soul neglected amidst the best opportunities of securing it; and the most trifling ceremonies predominate over the eternal welfare of men, which should have been the *prime* object in all their operations."

"July 17. A stiff breeze brought us in sight of Corea. A merciful Providence has brought us through many dangers, along the coast of China, and oh that we were truly grateful!"

"We came to anchor at Chwang-shan, an island north of Basil's Bays. The silence of the desert seemed to reign every where. We ventured towards the shore, and the first thing we met was a fishing-boat, miserably constructed, with two natives in it, clothed in rags. Though we could not communicate with them orally, yet we could use the Chinese character in writing. We gave the old man a few books, and lion buttons, which highly delighted him. As soon as we had landed on a small island, several natives came down from a hill, wearing conical caps of horse-hair, with jackets and trowsers similar to the Chinese, but wider and without buttons. Nothing could exceed the gravity of their look and demeanor. An elderly man who held a staff, bade us sit down by repeating several times 'tshoa.' After complying with his request, he made a long harangue, of which we understood not a syllable, but in which he seemed very earnest. From his unequivocal gestures, and from a young man whom we had the happiness to find, who understood a few

Chinese words, we afterwards learned that he was pointing out to us the regulations of his country, and the duties of strangers on their arrival."

"August 22. Yesterday, we passed Sulphur island, from which great quantities of smoke were rising. This island seems to be entirely volcanic, and destitute of vegetation. We wished much to go ashore; but the wind blew too hard, and the sea was too high to permit us to land. After experiencing sudden gusts of wind, we arrived, to-day, safely at Napa-keang, the principal anchorage of Great Loo-choo. This island has been repeatedly visited by Europeans, and has engaged the attention of the ablest writers.

"Soon after anchoring, we set out to go ashore, at the temple of Lin-hae. We saw several Japanese vessels in the harbor, and observed the junk returned which we had seen at Fuh-chow."

"August 24. Anjah, with Tche, and an elderly mandarin, to-day made us a visit on board, the first which we have yet received."

"To-day, we visited the Japanese junk. The substantial canvas of the sails, the broad structure of the vessel, the immense rudder, and main-mast, which is quite disproportionate, the spacious accommodations, were all objects of curiosity for strangers. Most of the sailors were naked: they were very friendly, and received our Christian books gratefully; and we should have gained much information from them, but for the interference of the Loo-choo mandarins, who were much displeased with the visit, and endeavored by every means to get us away from the junk. They painted off the treachery of the Japanese, and the danger of our lives in becoming too intimate with them. Yet we protracted our visit as much as possible, and viewed every part of the junk."

"To-day we dined in the Po-tsang temple. The most savory dishes were placed with much order and taste, upon japanned tables, and presented to us in regular succession. The liquor with which they treated us, was very clear, and of excellent flavor. We admired the good order and propriety exhibited in the feast, among a great crowd of spectators. Good manners seem to be natural to the Loo-chooans.

"After dinner we took a long walk among the hills and groves of this delightful island. We saw several women working very hard in the field; and the peasantry appeared to be poorly clad and in poor condition; yet, they were as polite as the most accomplished mandarins. Sweet potatoes occupied the greater part of the ground, and seem to constitute the principal food of the inhabitants."

Sufficient evidence will be found in the foregoing quotations, of the interesting nature of the volume. There is a sweet simplicity and frankness in Mr. Gutzlaff's delineations

of events and of human character. He has none of that studied reserve, which is sometimes the fault of English journalists, nor of that volubility, of which the French are accused. We are inclined to think that the Germans, when pervaded by the spirit of the gospel, will furnish excellent missionaries. They give their whole heart to the work. They pour out their feelings without reserve. The cold maxims of worldly prudence are entirely disregarded. The seminary at Bâle has sent forth several fine spirits into the great harvest.

It was remarked by a recent eloquent writer, that the conversion of the Chinese constitutes the great problem of Christianity. Late events indicate that this problem may soon be solved. The spirit of *exclusionism* does not extend to the great mass of the people. The advantages of foreign commerce are readily seen by them, and would be eagerly embraced, were not the fear of the mandarins before their eyes. Mr. Gutzlaff found that the inhabitants of the northern provinces are much more friendly to strangers than those of Canton, and other southern districts. China is not by any means so powerful as has been frequently supposed. Rebellions are not of rare occurrence, which put at defiance the utmost power of the emperor. The lapse of a few years will, in our opinion, reveal great changes in the administration of this singular government, which now extends its comparatively feeble sway over one third of the human race. A more enlightened and liberal emperor will ascend the throne, or China will be broken into a great number of independent sovereignties, or the grasping ambition of Russia will pass over the 'wall,' or British India will find the Birman mountains but a feeble barrier to her eastern progress.

In the mean time, success to the efforts of the large-hearted Christian philanthropists, who, at Macao, and Canton, and Malacca, are unlocking the treasures of European learning and of the divine word to the followers of Confucius. They deserve the gratitude of the whole world. Morrison and Milne have done a work, which shall last longer than the pyramids of Egypt. Success to their younger brethren, who are now sending over their appeals to American philanthropy. May a full response from these shores, of means and of personal service, greet their hearts.

ARTICLE XI.

CRITICAL NOTICES.

- 1.—*Poems and Prose Writings. By Richard H. Dana.*
Boston : Russell, Odiorne & Co. 1833. pp. 450.

As we propose, in our next number, to give an extended notice of this production, we now make only the single remark, that, in our opinion, no volume of poetry has ever been issued from the American press, so deserving to be read and studied as this. We say volume of poetry, for much of the prose is poetry of the highest order. We quote one of the shortest pieces.

THE HUSBAND'S AND WIFE'S GRAVE.

" Husband and wife ! No converse now ye hold,
As once ye did in your young day of love,
On its alarms, its anxious hours, delays,
Its silent meditations, its glad hopes,
Its fears, impatience, quiet sympathies ;
Nor do ye speak of joy assured, and bliss
Full, certain, and possessed. Domestic cares
Call you not now together. Earnest talk
On what your children may be, moves you not.
Ye lie in silence, and an awful silence ;
'T is not like that in which ye rested once
Most happy—silence eloquent, when heart
With heart held speech, and your mysterious frames,
Harmonious, sensitive, at every beat
Touched the soft notes of love.

A stillness deep,
Insensible, unheeding, folds you round ;
And darkness, as a stone, has sealed you in.
Away from all the living, here ye rest :
In all the nearness of the narrow tomb,
Yet feel ye not each other's presence now.
Dread fellowship !—together, yet alone.

Is this thy prison-house, thy grave, then, Love ?
And doth death cancel the great bond that holds
Commingleing spirits ? Are thoughts that know no bounds,
But self-inspired, rise upward, searching out
The eternal Mind—the Father of all thought—
Are they become mere tenants of a tomb ?—
Dwellers in darkness, who the illuminate realms
Of uncreated light have visited and lived ?—
Lived in the dreadful splendor of that throne,
Which One, with gentle hand the veil of flesh
Lifting, that hung 'twixt man and it, revealed
In glory ?—throne, before which even now

Our souls, moved by prophetic power, bow down
 Rejoicing, yet at their own natures awed?—
 Souls that Thee know by a mysterious sense,
 Thou awful, unseen Presence—are they quenched,
 Or burn they on, hid from our mortal eyes
 By that bright day which ends not; as the sun
 His robe of light flings round the glittering stars?

And do our loves all perish with our frames?
 Do those that took their root and put forth buds,
 And their soft leaves unfolded in the warmth
 Of mutual hearts, grow up and live in beauty,
 Then fade and fall, like fair, unconscious flowers?
 Are thoughts and passions that to the tongue give speech,
 And make it send forth winning harmonies,—
 That to the cheek do give its living glow,
 And vision in the eye the soul intense
 With that for which there is no utterance—
 Are these the body's accidents?—no more?—
 To live in it, and when that dies, go out
 Like the burnt taper's flame?

O, listen, man!

A voice within us speaks the startling word,
 'Man, thou shalt never die!' Celestial voices
 Hymn it around our souls: according harps,
 By angel fingers touched when the mild stars
 Of morning sang together, sound forth still
 The song of our great immortality:
 Thick clustering orbs, and this our fair domain,
 The tall, dark mountains, and the deep-toned seas,
 Join in this solemn, universal song.
 —O, listen, ye, our spirits; drink it in
 From all the air! 'Tis in the gentle moonlight;
 'Tis floating in day's setting glories; Night,
 Wrapt in her sable robe, with silent step
 Comes to our bed and breathes it in our ears:
 Night; and the dawn, bright day, and thoughtful eve,
 All time, all bounds, the limitless expanse,
 As one vast mystic instrument, are touched
 By an unseen, living Hand, and conscious chords
 Quiver with joy, in this great jubilee:
 —The dying hear it; and as sounds of earth
 Grow dull and distant, wake their passing souls
 To mingle in this heavenly harmony.

Why is it that I linger round this tomb?
 What holds it? Dust that cumbered those I mourn.
 They shook it off, and laid aside earth's robes,
 And put on those of light. They're gone to dwell
 In love—their God's and angels'. Mutual love
 That bound them here, no longer needs a speech
 For full communion; nor sensations strong,
 Within the breast, their prison, strive in vain
 To be set free, and meet their kind in joy.
 Changed to celestials, thoughts that rise in each,
 By natures new, impart themselves though silent.
 Each quickening sense, each throb of holy love,
 Affections sanctified, and the full glow
 Of being, which expand and gladden one,

By union all mysterious, thrill and live
 In both immortal frames :—Sensation all,
 And thought, pervading, mingling sense and thought !
 Ye paired, yet one ! wrapt in a consciousness
 Twofold, yet single—this is love, this life !

Why call we then the square-built monument,
 The upright column, and the low-laid slab,
 Tokens of death, memorials of decay ?
 Stand in this solemn, still assembly, man,
 And learn thy proper nature ; for thou seest,
 In these shaped stones and lettered tables, figures
 Of life : More are they to thy soul than those
 Which he who talked on Sinai's mount with God,
 Brought to the old Judeans—types are these
 Of thine eternity.

I thank Thee, Father,
 That at this simple grave, on which the dawn
 Is breaking, emblem of that day which hath
 No close, Thou kindly unto my dark mind
 Hast sent a sacred light, and that away
 From this green hillock, whither I had come
 In sorrow, Thou art leading me in joy."

- 2.—*Texas. Observations, historical, geographical, and descriptive, in a series of letters, with an appendix, containing answers to certain questions, issued some time since by the London Geographical Society. By Mrs. Mary Austin Holley. Baltimore : Armstrong & Plaskitt. 1833. pp. 167.*

TEXAS now forms a part of the State of Coahuila and Texas, being provisionally annexed to Coahuila, until its population and resources are sufficient to form a separate State, when its connection with Coahuila will be dissolved. Its latitude is from 28° to 34° north. It is bounded by Red river, which separates it from Arkansas on the north, by Louisiana on the east, by the gulf of Mexico on the south, and by the river Nueces, which separates it from other Mexican territories, on the west. It is divided into three distinct tracts, the level, the undulating, and the hilly. The whole coast is rather low and very level, but entirely free from marsh. That part of the level region, which lies between the Sabine and Jacinto rivers, extends back about seventy miles, and is heavily *timbered*. North and north-west of this section of the level region, the country is undulating to Red river. Some other portions are broken into hills, which finally terminate in a mountain range, about two hundred miles from the sea. The natural productions are in general the same as those of Louisiana and Florida. The indigenous indigo of Texas is considered superior to the plant which is cultivated in the United States. Bees-wax and honey are produced in great abundance. Cool and refreshing water may be drawn from

wells of moderate depth in every part of the country. The navigation of several of the more important rivers is unfortunately impeded at their mouths by bars of sand. The Red river, however, has depth sufficient for vessels of four hundred tons. The other principal rivers are the Trinity, the Brazos, six hundred miles in length, and the Colorado, four hundred and fifty miles.

The main settlement of Mexicans, and the capital of Texas, is Bexar, containing 2,500 inhabitants. At two or three other places, there are small settlements. Those Mexicans who are dispersed among the Anglo-American settlers, are employed as herdmen. The principal tribes of Aborigines, are the Comanches and the Carancahuas. The Comanches are a wandering race, and depend altogether upon the chase for subsistence. The Carancahuas inhabited formerly the whole sea-coast. These Indians have been nearly cut off by the Anglo-Americans and Mexicans, in revenge of some robberies and murders committed by them. The white men seem, however, to have been, as usual, the aggressors. There are remnants of other Indian tribes, but not sufficiently numerous to deserve particular notice.

There are now two settlements of Irishmen, and several of Anglo-Americans. The principal colony of the latter is the one planned by Moses Austin of Missouri, a native of Durham, Ct. and established by his son, Col. Stephen F. Austin. Col. Austin arrived on the River Brazos, with the first emigrants, in December, 1821. After suffering a variety of hardships, incident to a life in the wilderness, and among Indian neighbors, the settlements seem at length to have been established on a firm basis. The entire colony now numbers about 6,000, and the influx of emigrants is greater than ever. The people are represented to be industrious and moral. Great precaution has been used to exclude the idle and vicious. Fugitives have been forcibly expelled. The colony has received uninterrupted manifestations of respect and confidence from every superior officer who has governed the province of Texas, or the State of Texas and Coahuila. Col. Austin appears to be a man of intelligence and energy. He is about forty years of age, and is a member of the legislature of the State.

Mrs. Holley, widow of the late president Holley of Lexington, and a kinswoman of Col. Austin, made a visit to the colony in the autumn of 1831, with a view to the ultimate settlement of herself and her family. The result of her expedition was a decided purpose of removal, as soon as domestic arrangements would permit. In giving her letters to the public, Mrs. Holley had a special view to "emigrant mothers, on whom the comfort of every family, and the general well-being of the infant colony so much depend." We are pleased with the general tone and tenor of these letters. Mrs. Holley wields a very spirited pen. We are not certain but that she has thrown too warm a coloring over her

descriptions. Whatever may be the advantages of soil and climate, it is evident that a capital item in the cup of happiness—political security—is wanting. Mexico can never establish a government of law, till there is more of intellectual and moral light diffused among her heterogeneous population, till *wax tapers* cease to be a principal article of consumption!

We select the following animated description from Mrs. Holley's letters.

"Brazoria is thirty miles from the mouth of the Brazos by the meanders of the river, and fifteen by land. It is situated on the right bank, and contains from two to three hundred inhabitants. It has a very good boarding-house, that is, one that furnishes every thing that absolute necessity requires, in neatness and good order. The proprietors of it are from New York, and know how things should be, and have intelligence and good sense enough to make the best of circumstances they cannot control. Thus they contrive to render their house, not only a comfortable, but an agreeable sojourn for travellers. A hotel is about to be erected, which will accommodate a greater number of persons. It is a very desirable thing to have such a one here, as in all places, the first impression, whether favorable or the contrary, depends so much upon the degree of personal comfort enjoyed.

"Brazoria has, already, some families of education and refinement. In one of my visiting excursions, I called on Mrs. ———, who was, I found, from my native State, (Connecticut,) a circumstance sufficient to place us, at once, on the most sociable footing. The family had not been here long, and their *cabin* was not yet built. They occupied a temporary shed among the trees, or *camp*, as they call it here, not impervious to the light, though there was no window. A white curtain supplied the place of door. The single apartment contained three or four beds, as white as snow. Books, glass, china, and other furniture in polite usage, were arranged in perfect neatness about the room, as best suited the present exigence. It was Sunday evening. Mrs. ——— was seated in a white cambric wrapper and tasteful cap. The children around the door, and the servants, were at their several occupations, or sitting at leisure about the temporary fire-place without. The whole scene was an exhibition of peace and happiness. I gazed upon it with emotions of admiration and delight. I have seldom seen a more striking domestic group, or enjoyed a conversation of more genuine good sense, than during the hour of my visit. The prospects of a new country and the retrospect of the old, were of course the absorbing topics of our discourse, as they are the unfailing themes of conversation among all classes in Brazoria, all uniting to extol the advantages of these fair regions of the sun, over the frozen climates of the north. Mr. ——— is an alumnus of Yale College. Stimulated by the love of occupation and the desire of doing good, he is about to open a school, in which the higher branches of education will be taught; the first school in Brazoria.

"Nowhere is conversation so animated as here, where every body is excited by the beautiful creations around them, and all busily engaged in appropriating the luxuriant bounties of heaven to their own use. Each has the best land, the best water courses, the finest timber, and the most judicious mode of operation; proving, at least, that each is satisfied with his own lot, and not disposed to envy his neighbor. Never was self more amiably displayed. Never was rivalry more honorable in itself, or one that promised more beneficial results to the community.

"In Texas, most domestic business is transacted in the open air. There has not been time to attend to the supernumerary wants of convenient kitchens. The most simple process is used for culinary purposes, and one is often reminded that hands were made before tongs, shovel and poker, as well as before knives and forks. Rumford and Franklin seem to have

labored in vain, and the amusing melody of mother Goose is almost realized; for pots, kettles, and frying-pans, in playful confusion, greet the eyes of visitors and enjoy the benefit of fresh air, as well as of severe scrutiny."

The political relations of Texas are a topic of great interest. We hope that its purchase by the United States may never become a serious question. No measure could be more injudicious. The existing constitution and laws totally prohibit slavery. If it should become a part of the United States, it would be difficult if not impossible to exclude the system, and her fine prairies would become the receptacle of the redundant slave population of other countries, as Louisiana now is. We hope that no inducement whatever, will make the friends of liberty in the congress of the United States, or out of it, swerve on this point for one moment. Amidst all that is dark in the history of the Mexican republic, we are glad there is one bright spot; involuntary servitude is now totally abolished. We learn from Mrs. Holley's book, that the more prudent and intelligent settlers have no wish to dissolve the present connection with the Mexican confederation.

Accompanying the volume is an accurate and beautiful map of Texas, drawn up by Col. Austin, and published by Tanner.

3.—*The Life of Nicholas Ferrar, M. A. Fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge, designed particularly for youth.* Philadelphia: French & Perkins. 1833. pp. 108.

Memoir of Julius Charles Rieu, from the French of Frederic Monod, Jun. one of the pastors of the Reformed French Church of Paris, with introductory remarks. By the Rev. A. Alexander, D. D. Philadelphia: French & Perkins. 1833. pp. 65.

The Basket of Flowers; or Piety and Truth Triumphant. A tale for the young, translated from the French, and altered and arranged. By G. T. Bedell, D. D. rector of St. Andrew's church, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: French & Perkins. 1833. pp. 144.

THE first of these volumes contains the life of a singularly devout man, who flourished in the seventeenth century. He was born in London, in February, 1591, and was the third son of a rich East India merchant. In 1610, he received the degree of bachelor of arts at Cambridge, and was soon after unanimously elected to a fellowship. Severe indisposition compelled him to travel. Having joined a body of courtiers, who were escorting Elizabeth, daughter of James I. to the continent, on her marriage to a German prince, he proceeded to Holland, where he remained for several months. He then left the escort, and made

the tour of Germany, Italy, and France, every where increasing, with the greatest diligence, his stores of learning, and at the same time preserving his attachment to protestantism and piety. On his return to England, he became secretary to the Virginia company, formed for the purpose of establishing settlements on James river. In this capacity he gained the acquaintance of Raleigh, Hawkins, Drake, and other distinguished men. He was about the same time appointed Savilian professor of mathematics at Oxford, which appointment he declined. In 1824, he was chosen a member of the house of commons, and took a conspicuous part in public business. When the plague appeared in London, he purchased an estate in a town in Huntingdonshire, called Little Gidding. Thither the entire family removed, and Mr. Ferrar, taking orders in the church, became the spiritual pastor of his little flock, composed, in a great degree of his kinsmen. He here spent the remainder of his days in happy retirement from the world, superintending his large family, composing helps for them in biblical and other studies, comforting the neighboring poor, and in various ways adorning his high profession. In the arrangements of the household, we are reminded of the large establishments of some modern sects. There seems, however, to have been very little objectionable in Mr. Ferrar's method of life. The utmost purity and propriety of manners prevailed.

We will only add that the little book is well worthy of a perusal. It is adapted to the comprehension of children from ten to fifteen years of age, while it will be equally acceptable to persons in mature life.

The second book in the list, at the head of this article, is a brief memoir of an evangelical minister, a native of Geneva, who was born in 1792, and died in 1821. He was pastor, for four years, of the Reformed church of Fredericia, a colony of French refugees in the Danish province of Jutland. He was a man of a spirit kindred to those of Brainerd, Neff, Cornelius, Martyn, and others, who have early in life been numbered with the saints in glory everlasting, and who, on earth, desired to depart and be with Christ, which is far better. Rieu had a cultivated understanding, and sweet and simple feeling, which, with his ardent piety, greatly endeared him to his flock. The author is Mr. Monod, well known in this country and in Europe. The translator has accomplished his task in good taste and with fidelity. We wish such books as these were multiplied an hundred fold.

The following extract describes his manner of study and preaching.

"The point of view in which his subject was to be exhibited being once determined, he kneeled before the Lord, implored the assistance of his Spirit, and besought Him to prepare himself that spiritual nourishment which He knew to be best suited to the souls for which it was designed. He then took

his pen in hand, and wrote with freedom and rapidity a sermon which was always useful, because it was full of the spirit and the word of Christ; of that word which never returns void to him from whom it emanates. And this man, who but a year before occupied months in the laborious composition of a single sermon, now prepared two during each week; for he preached on the Sabbath morning in French, and in the afternoon in German. The first of these sermons he committed to memory; the second he read, not being yet sufficiently familiar with the German to trust his memory with the repetition of a discourse in that language. During nearly four years, he constantly composed two sermons in each week; for it rarely, if ever, happened, that he repeated an old discourse. He thought that this practice gave to the ministry too much the character of a trade; that it was important to give to public discourses, as far as possible, the appearance of *improvisation*, and that the tone, the tendency, and the details of a sermon ought to vary according to circumstances, which are never entirely the same at different periods. He adopted the habit recommended by Reinhard,* of being always in advance by one week in his preparation. Seldom did he preach a sermon either in French or German, unless that which was to succeed it was ready in his desk, and thus he was never left to be embarrassed by those accidents which might occur during the week, to interrupt the labors of preparation. It is true that he rose at four o'clock in the morning; that he occupied, as a faithful steward, every quarter of an hour which his master allowed him; and only took that repose which was absolutely necessary to the preservation of his health, a strict attention to which he considered his duty, both as a pastor and a son. The Sabbath was to him the happiest day of the week. Far from sharing in that species of anguish with which many pastors regard so rapid a succession of the Sabbaths of the Lord, he beheld their approach with joy, the source of which was to be found in the manner in which he employed them. At nine o'clock he ascended the pulpit and preached in French. He then visited, in succession, three or four infirm persons of his flock who had been confined for years to their own houses, and performed with each of them a private service. At two o'clock he commenced his service in German, at the close of which he held in his own house a large Sunday school. And finally, at six o'clock, the young apostle opened the doors of his house, and the faithful resorted thither with eagerness, to be again edified by the reading of the holy word, and by the tidings of the progress of Christianity on the earth. The day of the Lord being thus occupied to the end, the faithful pastor closed it in supplications for his flock, and found in his own heart a sweet and effectual recompense for his labors, a true foretaste of that eternal recompense which awaited him, and which he was so soon to receive."

The third book is a tale, translated from the French, with considerable alterations and amendments, by Dr. Bedell. The great lesson which it successfully and very beautifully inculcates is, that God will finally, if not immediately, *show* to the world that he is the advocate of those who suffer on account of him. The narrative has great interest, and the *moral* every where appears so prominently that we can make no objection to the fictitious incidents. The following paragraph will show the style in which the book is written.

* See Letters of F. V. Reinhard on his studies and labors as a preacher, translated from the German by J. Monod, one of the pastors of the Reformed church, of Paris. This valuable work has been translated into English by Rev. O. A. Taylor, of the Theological Seminary, Andover.—TV.

"About three o'clock the next morning, James faintly said, 'I feel very ill—open the window a little.' Mary opened it, the moon had disappeared; but the sky, covered with stars, presented a magnificent spectacle. 'See how beautiful the sky appears,' said the sick man. 'What are the flowers of earth, when compared with these stars, whose beauty suffers no diminution? it is there I am now going—what joy! Come, Lord Jesus—come quickly!' On saying these words, he fell upon his bed, and died the death of a Christian. Mary thought he had only fainted, for she had never seen any one die, and did not think he was so near his end; nevertheless, in her fright she awoke all the family; they ran to the bed of James, and there she heard them declare he was dead. She threw herself upon the body of her father, embraced it, and wept—her lips fastened upon his wan and pale visage. The tears of the daughter mingled with the cold sweat of the father that had ceased to be. 'Oh, my father—my good father,' said she, 'how shall I acquit myself of all the obligations I am under! Alas! I cannot—I can only thank you for all the words, for all the good advice that I received from that mouth, those lips now sealed in death. It is with gratitude that I now kiss your hand, now cold and stiff, that hand which has bestowed on me so many benefits, and which has labored so much for my good. Oh! if my soul could at the same moment leave its tenement of clay—if it could follow you, my father, into the heavenly kingdom. Oh! "let me die the death of the righteous." It is certain that this life is nothing—really nothing. What happiness must there be in heaven and in everlasting life! That is now my only consolation.'

"This was a heart-rending scene. At last the farmer's wife, after persuading Mary for some time, prevailed upon her to lay [lie] down. Nothing would induce Mary during the following day to leave the body of her father. She read, wept, and prayed until morning. Before the coffin-lid was nailed down, Mary took one more look at her father. 'Alas!' said she, 'it is the last time that I shall ever behold your venerable face. How beautiful it was when you smiled, and it shone with the glory into which you were going to enter. Farewell—farewell, my father,' cried she, sobbing aloud. 'May your mortal remains rest peaceably in the bosom of the earth, now while the angels of the Lord are, as I hope, bearing your soul to eternal rest.' She took a branch of rosemary, of primrose as yellow as gold, and violets of a deep blue. She made a bouquet of them, and placed them on the bosom of her father, who during his life had sown and cultivated so many flowers. 'May these flowers, the first-fruits of the earth, be,' said she, 'an image of your future resurrection; and this rosemary, always green, the symbol of the pious recollection that will be for ever engraven on my heart.' When they began to nail down the coffin-lid, every stroke of the hammer caused her so much emotion, that she almost fainted. The farmer's wife led her into the next room, and begged her to lie on the bed to recover herself. After the departure of the funeral, Mary, dressed in a suit of mourning, which one of the girls of the village had given her, followed close to the body of her father. She was as pale as death, and every one pitied this poor forsaken orphan, who now had neither father nor mother. As Mary's father was a stranger at Erlenbrunn, they dug a grave for him in the corner of the cemetery, beside the wall. Beside this wall were two large pine trees, which shaded the tomb. The curate preached a touching funeral sermon, in respect for the deceased. He had taken for his text these words of Jesus: 'Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone, but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit.' John xii. 24. He spoke of James's patience, and of the resignation with which he bore all the misfortunes which had fallen to his lot, and the good example he had set for those who knew him. He offered consolations to the orphan, who was overwhelmed with grief. He thanked, in the name of the deceased, the farmer and his wife, who had so well proved to Mary and her father the kindness of their hearts. In short, he begged them to be father and mother to Mary, who had no longer any parents. Whenever Mary attended divine

service at Erlenbrunn, she never failed to visit the tomb. She went also every Sunday evening, when she had opportunity, to visit the tomb of her father, and to weep over his cherished remains. 'No where,' would she say, 'have I prayed with so much fervor, as here at my father's grave. Here the whole world is nothing to me. I feel that we belong to a better world. My heart sighs for that country, because I daily feel the evil of the one in which I now am.' She never left the grave, without having made good resolutions to despise the pleasures of the world, and to live only to her God."

4.—*A New Translation of the Hebrew Prophets, arranged in chronological order. By George R. Noyes, Volume I. containing Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, and Micah. Boston: Charles Bowen. 1833. pp. 288.*

MR. NOYES is known to many of our readers as the translator of the Psalms and of Job. The remainder of the prophetic writings will appear in two additional volumes. The principal helps which he consulted in preparing the present volume, were Walton's Polyglott, Poole's Synopsis Criticorum, Pococke, Vitringa, Lowth, Grotius, Dathe, Rosenmueller, Newcome, Stuck on Hosea, and the translations of Martin Luther, Junius and Tremellius, Castalio, and De Wette. By limiting his labors chiefly to the business of translation, Mr. Noyes supposes that he can do more good consistently with the paramount duties of his present situation, than by attempting a commentary upon one or more books. The few notes which are added, formed no part of the original plan of the translator. They are such as could be prepared without any great expense of time, or interference with his plan of proceeding with the translation and publication of other portions of the Old Testament. In respect to retaining the phraseology of the common translation, Mr. Noyes has proceeded on this principle, to adopt that meaning of the original, which appeared to his judgment the true one, and that mode of expressing it which seemed to his taste the best. Those portions of the common version which remain unaltered, have, in proportion to their difficulty, been the subject of as extensive and laborious investigation, as those which have been altered.

We refer our readers to the preface of this volume, for a statement of the reasons for a new version of the Scriptures. The argument is given concisely, but as strongly as the case admits. We think Mr. Noyes, in his commendable zeal to make the Scriptures as intelligible as possible, does not place, by any means, so high a value as he ought on the common version, nor on the difficulties, which to us appear insurmountable, of substituting a new one.

We think the labors of Mr. Noyes worthy of high commendation. A translator has in many respects a thankless office. The anxiety and effort which he expends, sometimes on a single particle, can never be known by his readers. As a specimen of Mr. Noyes's manner, we give the last chapter in Hosea.

AN EXHORTATION TO REPENTANCE, AND PROMISE OF THE FUTURE FAVOR
OF GOD.—Hosea, ch. xiv.

“TURN, O Israel, to Jehovah thy God ;
For thou hast fallen by thine iniquity.
Take with you words,
And turn to Jehovah, saying,
‘Forgive all our iniquity, and receive us graciously,
‘When we offer to thee the sacrifices of our lips!
‘Assyria shall not help us ;
‘We will not ride on horses ;
‘And no more will we say to the work of our hands,
‘Ye are our Gods !
‘For from thee the fatherless obtaineth mercy.’

‘I will heal their rebellion ; I will love them freely ;
‘For my anger is turned away from them.
‘I will be as the dew to Israel ;
‘He shall bloom as the lily,
‘And strike his roots like Lebanon.
‘His branches shall spread,
‘And his beauty shall be as the olive-tree,
‘And his fragrance as Lebanon.
‘They, that dwell under his shadow, shall gather strength ;
‘They shall revive as the corn ;
‘They shall shoot forth as the vine ;
‘Their name shall be like the wine of Lebanon.
‘Ephraim shall say, What have I more to do with idols ?
‘I will hear him ; I will care for him ;
‘I will be like a green olive-tree ;
‘From me shall thy fruit be found.’

Who is wise, that he may understand these things ;
Prudent, that he may know them ?
For the ways of Jehovah are right,
And the righteous walk in them ;
But in them transgressors stumble.”

5.—*The Teacher ; or moral influences employed in the instruction and government of the young ; intended chiefly to assist young teachers in organizing and conducting their schools. By Jacob Abbott, late principal of the Mount Vernon Female School, Boston. Boston : Peirce & Parker. 1833. pp. 293.*

MR. ABBOTT thus explains his object.

“This book is intended to detail, in a familiar and practical manner, a system of arrangements for the organization and management of a school, based on the employment, so far as is practicable, of *moral influences*, as a means of effecting the objects in view. Its design is, not to bring forward new theories or new plans, but to develop and explain, and to carry out to their practical applications, such principles as, among all skillful and experienced teachers, are generally admitted and acted upon. Of course it is not designed for the skillful and the experienced themselves ; but it is intended to embody what they already know, and to present it in a practical form, for the use of those who are beginning the work and who wish to avail themselves of the experience which others have acquired.”

The first chapter is taken up in describing the enjoyments and difficulties of teaching; the second, in giving the general arrangements of a school, such as recitations, questions, mending pens, kind of government; the third, on the subject of instruction, means of exciting interest, proper way of rendering assistance, &c.; the fourth, on moral discipline; the fifth, on religious influence; the sixth, on the Mount Vernon school; the seventh, on scheming; the eighth, on reports of cases, or a development of that part of the plan of government which is intrusted to the scholars. We commend the book to our readers, who are engaged in youthful instruction, whether in families or in schools, as one of great value. It is highly practical, and full of illustrations of principles. We make one extract.

"I know of nothing which illustrates more perfectly the way by which a knowledge of human nature is to be turned to account in managing human minds, than a plan which was adopted for clearing the galleries of the British house of commons, as it was described to me by a gentleman who had visited London. It is well known that the gallery is appropriated to spectators, and that it sometimes becomes necessary to order them to retire, when a vote is to be taken, or private business is to be transacted. When the officer in attendance was ordered to clear the gallery, it was sometimes found to be a very troublesome and slow operation, for those who first went out, remained obstinately as close to the doors as possible, so as to secure the opportunity to come in again first, when the doors should be re-opened. The consequence was, there was so great an accumulation around the doors outside, that it was almost impossible for the crowd to get out. The whole difficulty arose from the eager desire of every one to remain as near as possible to the door, *through which they were to come back again*. I have been told, that, notwithstanding the utmost efforts of the officers, fifteen minutes were sometimes consumed in effecting the object, when the order was given that the spectators should retire.

"The whole difficulty was removed by a very simple plan. One door only was opened when the crowd was to retire, and they were then admitted through the other. The consequence was, that as soon as the order was given to clear the galleries, every one fled as fast as possible through the open door around to the one which was closed, so as to be ready to enter first, when that, in its turn, should be opened; this was usually in a few minutes, as the purpose for which the spectators were ordered to retire was usually simply to allow time for taking a vote. Here it will be seen that by the operation of a very simple plan, the very eagerness of the crowd to get back as soon as possible, which had been the *sole cause of the difficulty*, was turned to account most effectually to remove it. Before, they were so eager to return, that they crowded around the door so as to prevent others going out. But by this simple plan of ejecting them by one door, and admitting them by another, that very circumstance made them clear the passage at once, and hurried every one away into the lobby, the moment the command was given.

"The planner of this scheme must have taken great pleasure in seeing its successful operation; though the officer who should go steadily on, endeavoring to remove the reluctant throng, by dint of mere driving, might well have found his task unpleasant. But the exercise of ingenuity, in studying the nature of the difficulty with which a man has to contend, and bringing in some antagonist principle of human nature to remove it, or if not an antagonist principle, a similar principle, operating, by a peculiar arrangement of circumstances, in an antagonist manner, is always pleasant.

From this source, a large share of the enjoyment which men find in the active pursuits of life, has its origin.

"The teacher has the whole field, which this subject opens, fully before him. He has human nature to deal with, most directly. His whole work is experimenting upon mind; and the mind which is before him to be the subject of his operation, is exactly in the state to be most easily and pleasantly operated upon. The reason now why some teachers find their work delightful, and some find it wearisomeness and tedium itself, is that some do, and some do not take this view of their work. One instructor is like the engine-boy, turning without cessation or change, his everlasting stop-cock, in the same ceaseless, mechanical and monotonous routine. Another is like the little workman in his brighter moments, fixing his invention and watching with delight its successful and easy accomplishment of his wishes. One is like the officer, driving by vociferation and threats, and demonstrations of violence, the spectators from the galleries. The other, like the shrewd contriver, who converts the very cause which was the whole ground of the difficulty, to a most successful and efficient means of its removal."

6.—*The Life of William Cowper, compiled from his correspondence, and other authentic sources of information; containing remarks on his writings, and on the peculiarities of his interesting character, never before published. By Thomas Taylor. Philadelphia: Key & Biddle. 1833. pp. 277.*

THIS is the first complete view of the life and writings of Cowper. It is a judicious compilation from Hayley's four volumes, Dr. Johnson's two volumes, the life by Newton, &c. A few original papers are inserted. Mr. Taylor gives a synopsis of Cowper's works, with critical and other remarks. Considerable light is thrown on these portions of Cowper's life, and on those points in his character, which were previously, for various reasons, involved in considerable obscurity. The editor has brought to his work a strong attachment to the life and productions of his author, a familiar acquaintance with the sources of information, a correct idea of his duties as a biographer, and a strong desire to promote the glory of that Being who conferred on the poet his extraordinary endowments. The author makes no pretensions to originality, but only to supply a desideratum in biographical and religious literature.

While we concede to Mr. Taylor all due praise for his labors, we cannot forbear expressing our regret that he did not give us more particulars of the correspondents and friends of Cowper. We, American readers, are left in almost total darkness, respecting lady Austen, and lady Hesketh, when good Mrs. King died, what became of 'cousin' Ann Bodham, in what state the grounds at Olney and Weston now are. These are not now merely matters of curiosity. Satisfactory answers to a number of questions, which we could ask, would throw no inconsiderable light on the life of the poet. Our first inquiries on a visit to England,

would not be at the museum, or the house of commons, or Westminster abbey; but in Cornwall for Henry Martyn's relatives, at Nottingham for Kirke White's, at Liverpool for Thomas Spencer's. We would question some of the old Bedford Row parishioners about Mr. Cecil, and the sexton of Mary Woolnoth concerning Mr. Newton. There is a false delicacy, and a want of knowledge of human nature, in withholding numerous particulars. While we would not advocate such notoriety as some of Dr. Doddridge's concerns have acquired, we still think there are serious and frequent mistakes on the other hand.

7.—*Natural History of the Fishes of Massachusetts, embracing a practical essay on angling. By Jerome V. C. Smith, M. D.* Boston: Allen & Ticknor. 1833. pp. 399.

In the introductory part of this book, we find some valuable remarks on the subject of the fisheries. The first knowledge we have of fisheries on the American coasts, was in the year 1504, when vessels from Biscay, Bretagne, and Normandy, were employed in the cod fishery, on the coasts of Newfoundland. In 1578, England employed fifteen vessels in the trade, France one hundred and fifty, Spain one hundred, and Portugal fifty. Many of the pious pilgrim fathers of New England, lived for months almost entirely on fish. Our system of free schools took its rise in Plymouth colony from the fisheries. In 1663, the following proposition was made by the colony court. "It is proposed by the court unto the several townships in this jurisdiction, as a thing that they ought to take into serious consideration, that some course may be taken in every town, that there may be a school-master set up to train up children to reading and writing." In 1670, "the court did freely give and grant all such profits as might or should accrue annually to the colony for fishing with nets or seines, at cape Cod, for mackerel, bass, or herring, to be improved for and towards a *free school* in some town of this jurisdiction, for the training up of youth in literature for the good and benefit of posterity, provided a beginning be made within one year after said grant," &c. This school was immediately established at Plymouth, and was supported by the proceeds of the cape Cod fishery till 1677, when they were distributed among several towns for the same purpose. In 1641, Winthrop says that 300,000 dry fish were sent to market in the colony of Massachusetts.

Previously to the American revolution, the cod fishery of Massachusetts employed 28,000 tons of shipping, and 4,000 seamen. The current value of their industry was about \$1,000,000. In 1790, congress gave some encouragement to the fisheries in the form of bounty, on exported fish. A few years afterwards, a

bounty was allowed to vessels occupied in the business for a given length of time. In 1807, 71,000 tons of shipping, belonging to Massachusetts, were employed in the cod fishery alone. In 1803, the State passed a law providing for an inspection of fish. In the following year, the number of barrels of mackerel packed in Massachusetts, was 8,079. The number gradually increased until 1808, when, after a temporary declension, the business extended, and, in 1811, the number of barrels packed was upwards of 19,000. In 1820, the number was 236,243. This was before the separation of Maine. In 1831, there were packed in this State, 348,750 barrels. The number of vessels employed was 400, and of men, 4,000. The probable value of the mackerel fishery exceeded \$1,500,000. The number of ships employed in the whale fishery, in 1832, was more than 300; of men, 6,000. These vessels are chiefly owned, built, and manned in Massachusetts. They are supposed to require, to equip for sea, 6,000 tons of iron hoops for casks, 18,000 bolts of sail cloth, 36,000 barrels of flour, 30,000 barrels of beef and pork, 6,000,000 staves for casks, besides numerous other expensive articles of equipment and provisions. They require annually about 700,000 pounds of sheathing copper.

A part of Dr. Smith's book is taken up in describing the anatomy and physiology of fishes; then follows a scientific delineation of the structure and habits of the fishes of Massachusetts. The book is concluded with an essay on trout and angling. Entertaining anecdotes and incidents are interspersed. The disciples of Wotton and Walton will find it a pleasant companion. We have room but for one extract.

"Age to which they live.—Perhaps there is no subject on which the naturalist has labored with less success, than in trying to ascertain the age to which fishes attain. Admitting that an individual of any species were undisturbed by enemies, or unmolested by its own kindred, and quietly enjoying a circumscribed body of water, amply supplied with appropriate food, there is no reason for doubting that it would live for many centuries. We know of no limits to their longevity, nor can we suppose that the internal machinery would wear itself out, so long as the digestive organs were properly excited.

"But the time must ultimately arrive when death will terminate their existence; though admirably constructed for an uncommonly long life, they are not, nor can they be exempted from the operation of a law, which to intelligent beings, is contemplated with the deepest feelings of awe and solemnity.

"Pike and carp, in artificial ponds, have been repeatedly found, with gold rings in their fins, and other kinds of labels, on which were also found dates, that proved, conclusively, that one hundred years had elapsed since the inscription was made.

"Gesner speaks of a pike that was known to be 267 years old. It is affirmed by some of the French writers, that several pike are in a pond, which formerly belonged to the duke of Orleans, father of the present king, so very aged, that their original complexion is completely lost: they have become of a dingy hue, and actually give the spectator the idea of extreme old age.

"Cartilaginous fishes have a still greater prospect of living to an advanced period. Instead of bones, as previously remarked, their skeletons are elastic, having but a small portion of earthy matter in them. As the vessels secrete but little ossific matter, they do not become rigid, as in the land animal:—the heart is in no danger of being converted into bone,—indeed, we do not know why many of them might not live and continue to grow for a thousand years.

"It was at one time thought that the circles discoverable on the ends of the vertebræ of the osseous tribes, indicated the age,—as the rings on the extremity of a log, marked the years of the growth of the tree. Those, unfortunately, are no guides,—and we therefore regret that we know of no mode, at the present day, of solving a problem of the highest interest to the curious. Of the marine fishes, the sharks unquestionably reach a truly patriarchal age.

"*Sleep.*—Exposed as these animals must necessarily be, to the voracious jaws of millions of belligerent, as well as hungry associates,—it would seem hardly possible that they should find a safe opportunity for this kind of rest, however much they might at any period require it. Again, being without eye-lids, they would be regarded, at first thought, as organized to require no suspension of the powers of volition. Impossible as it is to speak with certainty on this point, we are fully persuaded that they not only require sleep, but that they also find safe and convenient times to enjoy that sort of repose. Gold fishes, in vases, repose regularly through the night, after the lights have been extinguished. This is inferred from their remaining precisely in one position, six and eight hours at a time."

8.—*Lectures, on the Literary History of the Bible, by Rev. Joel Hawes; on the Principle of Association as giving dignity to Christian Character, by Rev. T. H. Gauldet; and on the Temporal Benefits of the Sabbath, by Rev. Horace Hooker: originally delivered before the Goodrich Association. Hartford, Ct.: Cooke & Co. 1833. pp. 110.*

We consider these lectures as very happy specimens of what ought to be the mental sustenance of our lyceums and popular associations. They are written with care, with much previous preparation, in a popular style, with entire freedom from sectarianism, and on subjects, which ought to be universally interesting. Dr. Hawes thus describes the manner in which our English version of the Bible was effected.

"In 1526, the New Testament was translated and published in English, by William Tyndal. This was a crime for which he was condemned to death. He was strangled, and afterwards burned. He expired, praying repeatedly and earnestly, 'Lord open the king of England's eyes.' In 1535, a translation of the whole Bible, and the first *English* one ever printed, and the first also ever allowed by royal authority, was completed under the direction of Miles Coverdale. Through the influence of Archbishop Cranmer, an order was obtained from the king 'that a book of the whole Bible should be provided and laid in the choir for every man that would to look and read therein.' Several other editions of the Scriptures were published during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., but all of them were only revised copies of Tyndal and Coverdale's translation. Passing over these, we come to our present authorized version. This, as already stated, was made by order of James I. In 1604, the king nominated fifty-four

learned men to re-translate, revise or correct preceding versions, so as to produce as perfect a translation as possible. Of these, only forty-seven actually engaged in the work, the others having died, or declined the appointment. They were men of distinguished piety, and profoundly versed in a knowledge of the original languages of the sacred writings. Those who lived to engage in the work were divided into six companies. To each company was assigned a particular book or portion of the Bible, which was to be translated by each individual belonging to that division. The book thus finished, was sent to each of the other companies, to be again examined; so that each book passed the scrutiny of all the translators successively. Three entire copies of the Bible, thus translated and revised, were finally submitted to a committee of six, who reviewed and polished the whole work. Nearly three years were spent in completing the translation; and from this account of it, it appears that no time or pains were spared to make it perfect. It was published in folio, in 1611, and has ever since been the version in common use. And we have the best reasons, on the whole, for being satisfied with it. Doubtless, with the improvements which have been made in biblical knowledge, some corrections might be made in our present translation, and some passages rendered more clearly expressive of the meaning of the original. But take it all in all, our English Bible is a noble monument of the integrity, fidelity and learning of its venerable translators. Their reverence for the sacred Scriptures induced them to be as literal as they could, to avoid obscurity; and while they have been extremely happy in the simplicity and dignity of their expressions, they have, by their adherence to the Hebrew idiom, at once enriched and adorned our language."

We give the following as a specimen of Mr. Gallaudet's manner.

"Suppose the mind of one of our most distinguished statesmen, to be under the controlling influence of the Christian's faith, to be actuated by the motives which this faith inspires, and to teem with those associations of thought and feeling, which the objects of this faith afford. He is a *Christian patriot*; and in all the laborious duties of his official stations; in all his counsels with kindred souls; in all his plans of reform and improvement, the future moral and religious, as well as political aspects of his beloved country, pass before his mind, and glow in his imagination, with all that vividness and beauty which his own creative fancy, in the light of the promises of revelation, sheds around them. His grandest projects, and his mightiest efforts, with their most splendid results, rise in his estimation to still higher degrees of grandeur and sublimity, because they are but the preparatory steps for making this his beloved country, become, to the millions and millions of people who are yet destined to inhabit it, *the great entrance way* to that holier and happier country, where Jehovah, in the person of his Son, will manifest his glory, and his empire be one of universal peace and love.

"He seeks the honor of his nation, but his estimate of this honor is made with reference to distant times and ages, when the records of history shall breathe the same spirit as the records of revelation, and the admiration of mankind be directed to the heroes who have been great in *doing good*, and to the nations that have been the benefactors of mankind; and he seeks to prepare the way, in the very discharge of his political duties, to have his beloved country distinguished as the instrument, in the hand of the King of kings, of diffusing the blessings of civilization, of freedom, and of Christianity, throughout the world.

"He is a *Christian statesman*; and he anticipates the day when the principles which he recognizes, and the measures which he advocates, based on the eternal foundation of truth and justice; imbued with the spirit of the gospel; acknowledging the paramount obligation of loving our neighbors as

ourselves, and of doing to others as we would have others do to us; breathing peace on earth and good will to men; when these principles shall regulate the intercourse of nations; and the universal adoption of these measures shall bind all men together in one brotherhood of affection: when they shall acknowledge God as their common father; his Son, as their only Saviour and Lord; living to do good to each other, as members of one great family; and inspired by the same hopes of immortality, as fellow heirs of a common inheritance, which is incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away."

Mr. Hooker gives us a very opportune and thorough exposition of the temporal benefits of the Sabbath.

"The Sabbath has a similar effect in clearing away the mists which blind our judgment; and we shall never know, in this world, from how many foolish and ruinous plans we have escaped through its influence. Mere cessation from our usual employments will not, indeed, accomplish all this. The ledger may be closed; the client be dismissed; the scientific tome be laid aside; while the heart still 'goeth after its covetousness,' and the soul wearies itself even on the day of rest. The current of earthly schemes and cares must be checked; the chain of worldly associations be broken; or, as to intellectual benefits, the Sabbath comes and goes in vain. The power to check this current, to break this chain, belongs chiefly to the sublime and momentous realities of eternity. They disenchant the heart, as nothing else can, of the spirit of gain and of ambition. They drive the 'strong man armed' from his castle, and give to the captive prisoner a momentary respite. Were death, then, an endless sleep—were the objects of revelation, which seize with so powerful a grasp on the heart and conscience, only the visions of fancy, by neglecting the sanctuary we should lose half the intellectual refreshment of the Sabbath.

"But there are cases which show still more conclusively the absolute necessity of mental relaxation on the Sabbath, especially on the part of those whose minds are severely taxed by the duties of either professional or public life. One of the most striking is the case of the late Marquis of Londonderry, the Prime Minister of Great Britain. It is stated in the *Christian Observer*, that he allowed not himself the repose of the Sabbath; that he did not withdraw his mind from his official business and cares on that day. Overcome by the incessant burden, and the perplexities and responsibilities of his elevated station, he put an end to his life in what was thought to be a state of mental derangement. He took on himself a load which God never lays on his creatures, and the apparent consequence was, that he sank under the weight. Dr. Farre, in the examination from which we have already quoted, says, 'The working of the mind in one continued train of thought, is destructive of life in the most distinguished class of society—and senators themselves stand in need of reform in that particular. I have observed many of them destroyed by neglecting this economy of life.'

"These principles are applicable at all times and in all countries—but especially are they applicable to our own time and country. The present is an age of excitement, and our own country seems to be the very fountain-head of it. Every thing in our situation and in our circumstances combines to wake up excitement. Wealth with us stands in the place of rank, and birth, and merit, and talents. Hence the intensity of desire manifested in its acquisition. Political parties are rife, and the state of our civil affairs often calls forth the deepest anxiety of the heart. Canals, and rail-roads, and steam-boats, are concentrating the different parts of the country, and stimulating every power of body and mind to the highest pitch. Where, then, is the sedative influence of the Sabbath more needed than in the United States? Where its holy calm more desirable than with us?—Not here and there one is under the influence of excitement—were it so, we could better spare the Sabbath. Nor is the excitement found only in accu-

mulating means of moral and intellectual improvement. It lurks in the haste to be rich; in the desire to gain office; in the disappointed hope of the heart; in the anxiety which watches over favorite plans in progress of execution; in the thousand risks to which business exposes, and in the ten thousand afflictions 'which flesh is heir to.' These rush through the soul like a wild tornado. The excitement from books, and from the means of moral and intellectual improvement, are to these only the soft whisperings of the summer zephyr. Do what else we will, we must change the whole face of our country, check the whole current of business, and transform the whole genius and spirit of our countrymen, before we can perceptibly diminish the prevailing excitement.—The returning Sabbath, in a measure, breaks its force, and strengthens men to resist its influence. Discard the Sabbath, and the human mind, left to bear up against the ever-swelling tide of business and care and discouragement, may swing from its moorings, and dash against the rocks of despair.—An alarming increase of insanity and suicide might follow here, as in France, when during the revolution the excitements were intense, and the Sabbath almost forgotten."

9.—*My Imprisonments: Memoirs of Silvio Pellico da Saluzzo, translated from the Italian. By Thomas Roscoe.* New York: J. & J. Harper. 1833. pp. 216.

As the result of the congress of Vienna of 1815, the Austrian predominance was more firmly established in Italy than ever. In the mean time, the desire of independence was not extinguished among the people of Italy. Several of the governments in vain endeavored to protect themselves against political societies by means of inquisitorial tribunals, Jesuits, and secret police. While the spirit of independence, excited by the Spanish revolution of 1820, and having for its object the union of Italy under one government, and its independence of foreign powers, particularly of Austria, threatened to subvert the political institutions of the peninsula in general, and of single states in particular—the cabinets labored with equal zeal to maintain the principle of stability by the suppression of every revolution, and by opposing to the popular spirit the power of the police. The influence of Austria on the internal administration was every where felt. In Naples, tribunals were erected, supported by moveable columns, to punish the authors of revolutions. Executions, proscriptions, and banishment, ensued. Some condemned Neapolitans and Lombards, were carried to the Austrian fortresses of Spielberg and Munkatsch. In 1824, the government of Naples was compelled, for the fourth time, on account of the crowded state of the prisons, to have recourse to extraordinary expedients. In Venice, the court of justice condemned thirty-two persons, and in Milan sixteen persons to death, though the sentence was afterwards transmuted to perpetual solitary imprisonment. In September, 1821, the pope excommunicated the sect of the *Carbonari*, and all similar associations, as branches of the long prohibited freemasons; but in the

Roman state, Tuscany, Parma, and Lucca, no punishments were inflicted for participation in former political societies.

The oppressions and exactions which the Italians are compelled to suffer, cannot, it would seem, be much longer endured. Punishments have been invented, of which the present age abhors the very name. No respect whatever has been paid in numerous instances to acquired rights. Judgments pronounced in civil causes, after mature consideration by the higher courts, have been annulled, and new trials granted, against law, before commissioners. In short, Italy is on the eve of great revolutions. Thousands and tens of thousands of her best men, are only watching a favorable opportunity, to try in her large cities a *three days' experiment*.

Silvio Pellico, a member of one of the secret societies, formed for the deliverance of his country, was arrested in Milan, on the 15th of October, 1820, and conveyed to the prison of Santa Margherita. His examination occupied several days. He there remained till February, 1821, when he was removed to Venice, where he had to confront the terrors of a state trial. Some of the miseries which he suffered in prison, may be gathered from the following paragraph.

"Being almost deprived of human society, I one day made acquaintance with some ants upon my window; I fed them; they went away, and ere long the place was thronged with these little insects, as if come by invitation. A spider, too, had weaved a noble edifice upon my walls, and I often gave him a feast of gnats or flies, which were extremely annoying to me, and which he liked much better than I did. I got quite accustomed to the sight of him; he would run over my bed, and come and take the precious morsels out of my hand. Would to heaven these had been the only insects which visited my abode. It was still summer, and the gnats had begun to multiply to a prodigious and alarming extent. The previous winter had been remarkably mild, and after the prevalence of the March winds, followed extreme heat. It is impossible to convey an idea of the insufferable oppression of the air in the place I occupied. Opposed directly to a noon-tide sun, under a leaden roof, and with a window looking on the roof of St. Mark, casting a tremendous reflection of the heat, I was nearly suffocated. I had never conceived an idea of a punishment so intolerable; add to which the clouds of gnats, which, spite of my utmost efforts, covered every article of furniture in the room, till even the walls and ceiling seemed alive with them; and I had some apprehension of being devoured alive. Their bites, moreover, were extremely painful, and when thus punctured from morning till night, only to undergo the same operation from day to day, and engaged the whole time in killing and slaying, some idea may be formed of the state both of my body and my mind."

He then describes an alleviation to the horrors of his confinement.

"I could perceive from my large window, beyond the projection of prisons, situated right before me, a surface of roofs, decorated with cupolas, *campanili*, towers, and chimneys, which gradually faded in a distant view of sea and sky. In the house nearest to me, a wing of the patriarchal palace, lived an excellent family, who had a claim to my gratitude, for expressing, by their salutations, the interest which they took in my fate. A

sign, a word of kindness to the unhappy, is really charity of no trivial kind. From one of the windows I saw a little boy, nine or ten years old, stretching out his hands towards me, and I heard him call out, 'Mamma, mamma; they have placed somebody up there in the Piombi. Oh, you poor prisoner, who are you?'

"I am Silvio Pellico," was the reply.

"Another older boy now ran to the same window, and cried out, 'Are you Silvio Pellico?'

"Yes; and tell me your names, dear boys."

"My name is Antonio S——, and my brother's is Joseph."

"He then turned round, and, speaking to some one within, 'What else ought I to ask him?' A lady, whom I conjecture to have been their mother, then half concealed, suggested some pretty words to them, which they repeated, and for which I thanked them with all my heart. These sort of communications were a small matter, yet it required to be cautious how we indulged in them, lest we should attract the notice of the jailer. Morning, noon, and night, they were a source of the greatest consolation; the little boys were constantly in the habit of bidding me good-night, before the windows were closed, and the lights brought in, 'Good-night, Silvio,' and often it was repeated by the good lady, in a more subdued voice, 'Good-night, Silvio, have courage!'

"When engaged at their meals, they would say, 'How we wish we could give you any of this good coffee and milk. Pray remember, the first day they let you out, to come and see us. Mamma and we will give you plenty of good things,* and as many kisses as you like.'"

It was not till the 21st of February, 1822, that Silvio received his sentence. He was condemned to death, but the imperial decree was, that the sentence should be commuted for fifteen years' hard imprisonment in the fortress of Spielberg. On the 10th of April, 1823, Silvio, with some fellow-prisoners, arrived at his place of destination. The prison was near the city of Brünn, the capital of Moravia, and near the famous battle grounds of Austerlitz. It was Silvio's lot to meet with gentle friends in all his sad changes.

"At one end of the terrace were situated the apartments of the superintendent; at the other was the residence of a captain, with his wife and son. When I saw any one appear from these buildings, I was in the habit of approaching near, and was invariably received with marks of courtesy and compassion.

"The wife of the captain had been long ill, and appeared to be in a decline. She was sometimes carried into the open air, and it was astonishing to see the sympathy she expressed for our sufferings. She had the sweetest look I ever saw; and though evidently timid, would at times fix her eye upon me with an inquiring, confiding glance, when appealed to by name. One day I observed to her with a smile, 'Do you know, signora, I find a resemblance between you and one who was very dear to me.' She blushed, and replied with charming simplicity, 'Do not then forget me when I shall be no more; pray for my unhappy soul, and for the little ones I leave behind me!' I never saw her after that day; she was unable to rise from her bed, and in a few months I heard of her death.

"She left three sons; all beautiful as cherubs, and one still an infant at the breast. I had often seen the poor mother embrace them when I was by, and say, with tears in her eyes, 'Who will be their mother when I am gone? Ah, whoever she may be, may it please the Father of all to inspire her with love, even for children not her own.'"

* Buzzolai, a kind of small loaf.

We have not room to detail the many expedients, which Silvio and his fellow-prisoner, Maroncelli, a part of the time confined with him, adopted for mitigating the horrors of their confinement. They read, talked, sung, composed tragedies, committed verses to memory, examined their past lives, conversed sometimes with fellow-prisoners through the grates and walls. Their sufferings, bodily and mental, were, however, excruciating in the last degree. *The iron went into their souls.* If the emperor of Austria can crush the revolutionary spirit by all possible apparatus of prisons, and dungeons, and inquisitors, he will succeed. He has more than one Bastile.

At length the prison doors were opened, and the poor captives went free. Silvio was soon in the embraces of his friends.

"We passed the night at Vercelli. The happy day, the 17th of September, 1830, dawned at last. We pursued our journey; and how slow we appeared to travel! it was evening before we arrived at Turin.

"Who would attempt to describe the consolation I felt; the nameless feelings of delight, when I found myself in the embraces of my father, my mother, and my two brothers? My dear sister Giuseppina was not then with them; she was fulfilling her duties at Chieri; but on hearing of my felicity, she hastened to stay for a few days with our family, to make it complete. Restored to these five long-sighed-for, and beloved objects of my tenderness,—I was, and I still am, one of the most enviable of mankind."

Our readers will readily conceive that the narrative is one of intense interest. It is rich in the philosophy of human suffering. Silvio has the pen of a ready writer, and is capable of expressing in rich and appropriate language, the thoughts of a powerful and cultivated mind. His love to his native land, his grief on account of the sorrows which were piercing a father's and mother's heart, are worthy of all commendation. No trait in his character is more strikingly developed than his filial and fraternal love. The book will also throw considerable light on the present political condition of Italy, and the kind of protection which Austria is extending over that ill-fated country.

The book is translated, in a superior style, by Mr. Thomas Roscoe, son of the philanthropist, the late William Roscoe, of Liverpool. There are some Catholic notions in the book, which our readers will not much admire. With this exception, we commend it to their notice.

- 10.—*Two Expeditions into the interior of Southern Australia, during the years 1828, 1829, 1830, and 1831; with observations on the soil, climate, and general resources of the colony of New South Wales. By Capt. Charles Sturt, 39th regiment, &c. In two volumes. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1833. pp. 299, 270.*

THE name, Australia, has, of late years, been affixed to that extensive tract of land which Great Britain possesses in the

Southern seas, and which, having been a discovery of the early Dutch navigators, was previously termed New Holland. The change of name was introduced by Malte Brun. Australia stretches from the 115th to the 153d degree of east longitude, and from the 10th to the 37th of south latitude. It averages 2,700 miles in length; by 1,800 in breadth; and balanced, as it were, upon the tropic of that hemisphere in which it is situated, it receives the fiery heat of the equator at one extremity, while it enjoys the refreshing coolness of the temperate zone at the other. The rivers of Australia have unhappily a bar at their mouth, or where they mingle with the waters of the ocean. Falling rapidly from the mountains in which they originate into a level and depressed country; having weak and inconsiderable sources, and being almost wholly unaided by tributaries of any kind, they naturally fail before they reach the coast, and exhaust themselves in marshes, or lakes. No indigenous fruits of any value have as yet been found, either in the forests or plains of New Holland.

The colony of New South Wales is situated on the eastern coast of Australia; and the districts within which land has been granted to settlers, extends from the 36th parallel of latitude to the 32d, that is to say, from the Moroyo river to the south of Sydney on the one hand, and to the Manning river on the other, including Wellington valley within its limits to the westward. The country has been divided into parishes, townships, and counties. For the last seven years, it has risen very rapidly in importance and wealth. The conduct of its merchants is marked by the boldest speculations, and the most gigantic projects. At Sydney, where, thirty years ago, the people flocked to the beach to hail an arrival, it is now not unusual to see from thirty to forty vessels riding at anchor at one time, collected from every quarter of the globe. In 1831, 150 vessels entered the harbor of Port Jackson, from foreign ports, the amount of their tonnage being 31,259 tons.

The staple of the Australian colonies is *fine wool*. The great improvements in modern navigation are such, that the expense of sending the fleece to England from New South Wales, is less than from any port of Europe, the charges being less, by about a penny on a pound, than upon German or Spanish wool. The culture of fine wool was commenced in the colony in 1793, by John McArthur. The importation of wool into England from the Australian colonies amounted, in 1832, to 10,633 bales, or 2,500,000 pounds. The average number of sheep, in New South Wales alone, is about 600,000 head. In 1831, the quantity of sperm and black oil, the produce of the fisheries, exported from New South Wales, amounted to 2,307 tons, and was estimated to be worth, with skins and whale bone, £107,917. The gross amount of all other exports during that year, did not exceed £107,997.

The greatest disadvantages under which New South Wales labors, are the want of means for carrying inland produce to the market, or to the coast, the Blue mountains being in this respect a serious bar to the internal prosperity of the colony; and the drought, to which it is periodically subject. Its climate may be said to be too dry. Those seasons in which no rain falls, occur every ten or twelve years. The cause is not known. The thermometer ranges during the summer months, that is from September to March, from 36 to 106 of Fahrenheit; but the mean is about 70°. The mean winter is 66°.

The character of a part of the society is one of the principal objections to emigration. Drunkenness, as in the mother country, is the besetting sin, though it is confined chiefly to the large towns, in consequence of the difficulty of procuring spirits in the country. The convicts frequently become attached to their occupations, their hearts become softened by mildness, and they atone as much as they can for previous crimes.

The object for which Capt. Sturt was commissioned, was to explore the southern interior of Australia, particularly the Macquarie, Morumbidgee, and Murray rivers. Considerable geographical information was the result of these expeditions. Mr. S. seems to be a humane, as well as an intelligent officer. His path, among a large and savage population, was a bloodless one, and his intercourse was such, as to lessen the dangers to future adventurers. The volumes are accompanied with a large map of the country, and with many highly finished drawings of birds, natural scenery, &c.

11.—*A Manual of the Chaldee Language; containing a Chaldee grammar, chiefly from the German of professor G. B. Winer; a chrestomathy, consisting of selections from the targums, and including the whole of the biblical Chaldee, with notes; a vocabulary, adapted to the chrestomathy, with an appendix, &c. By Elias Riggs. Boston: Perkins & Marvin. 1832. pp. 180.*

MR. RIGGS, the author of this Manual, is now a missionary of the American board of commissioners for foreign missions in Greece, and is associated with Mr. King at Athens. He has here performed a service which will be interesting to all Hebrew scholars.

The Aramean, one of the three grand divisions of the Shemitish or oriental languages, comprises two principal subdivisions—the Syriac and the Chaldee. The appropriate region of the latter, was Babylonia, between the Euphrates and Tigris, the original inhabitants of which, cultivated this language as a distinct dialect, and communicated it to the Jews, during the

Babylonian exile. By means of the Jews, the Chaldee was transplanted into Palestine, where it became the vernacular tongue, and was employed by them, as it had been in Babylonia, as the language of books. Though the Chaldee as spoken by the Jews partook somewhat of the Hebrew character, no entire or very important corruption of it took place; and to this circumstance alone the Babylonians are indebted for the partial preservation of their language, which in the mother country, since the spread of Islamism, has been totally extinct. The principal remains of the Chaldee dialect in our possession, are a part of Ezra and Daniel, a few verses in Jeremiah, and the targums, a class of translations and paraphrases of the books of the Old Testament. The same letters and vowel points are employed as in Hebrew. The language also closely resembles the Syriac.

The work of Mr. Riggs comprises all the necessary helps for an adequate acquaintance with Chaldee.

12.—*An Appeal in favor of that class of American's called Africans. By Mrs. Child, author of the Mother's Book, &c.* Boston: Allen & Ticknor. 1833. pp. 232.

An Appeal to Christians on the Subject of Slavery. By John Hersey. Baltimore: John W. Woods. 1833. pp. 120.

THE first chapter in Mrs. Child's book gives a brief history of negro slavery, and of its inevitable effects upon all concerned in it. The second chapter is employed in depicting the system, as it has existed in different ages and nations, showing that the greater the liberty enjoyed by the oppressors, the greater the misery of the oppressed. Free and slave labor are then compared, and the possibility of safe emancipation argued. The fourth subject discussed is the political bearings of slavery. The Colonization and Anti-slavery Societies then pass in review. Mrs. Child proceeds to vindicate the intellectual and moral character of the negroes, and closes with some remarks on the prejudice which is cherished in respect to the color of the skin.

The book is full of interesting anecdote, and of important principles, very happily illustrated. The spirit in which it is written is candid, and in all respects becoming. Even in the chapter on the Colonization Society, there is nothing like a spirit of denunciation, or angry invective. We see no reason for the fears and entreaties which Mrs. C. has expressed in her preface. The cause in which she is engaged is not so unpopular as she supposes it to be. Great numbers of people, both friends of colonization and others, think, in respect to most of the topics of inquiry, as Mrs. Child does. Her independence, therefore, or her audacity, as she feared it might be called, was by no means so great as she imagined. We differ from her in respect to one

subject, but we are glad she has written the book. She holds a fearless and a practised pen, and can do great good by employing it in behalf of crushed and outraged humanity. We will join her, with all the little force which we can command, in efforts to extirpate the wicked prejudice which is felt against the color of the skin; in effort to raise up the colored population to a full participation in all the blessings of freedom and education.

At the same time, we must differ from her in respect to the influence and tendency of the Colonization Society. Her first objection is, that the "Colonization Society tends to put public opinion asleep, on a subject where it needs to be wide awake." Now we believe the very reverse of this proposition. The Colonization Society, in our opinion, has created that influence in favor of the colored people, and adverse to slavery, which the opponents of the society now employ in denouncing the society. We have innumerable facts in point. We have been specially interested in this subject for ten years, and have heard many addresses, and read whatever of importance has issued from the press. One of the most ardent friends of the society delivered an address a few years since, in a college. This address was afterwards printed in one of the most widely circulated papers in New England. The publication called forth a number of replies and rejoinders from slave-holders. The pieces were then collected in a pamphlet, and circulated in South Carolina, at the instance of a clergyman of that State. This address holds stronger language in respect to slavery, than can be found in Mrs. Child's book. Another friend of the society wrote a tract mainly on the evils of slavery, which was circulated by thousands over the whole of New England. Other individuals wrote series of essays, which were published in various portions of New England, mainly on the evils of slavery. At the south, the circulation of the African Repository has drawn forth discussions, able, thorough, effective. Witness Mr. Fitzhugh's articles in the Richmond Enquirer, or the excitement that Mr. Maxwell occasioned in Norfolk. But we have no room for further statements. We can prove the incorrectness of Mrs. Child's position, if need be, *by an induction of particulars*.

"In the next place, many of the colonizationists, (I suppose it does not apply to all,) are averse to giving the blacks a good education; and they are not friendly to the establishment of schools and colleges for that purpose." The proof? Where are the *many* colonizationists? We venture to say, nowhere. The press, in favor of the Colonization Society, has been nearly unanimous in expression of their disapprobation of the late law passed in Connecticut. No ingenuity can identify Miss Crandall's prosecutors with the colonization cause. The project of founding a college at New Haven, was not opposed by the principal colonizationists of that city, much less by others elsewhere.

The religious paper of that city vigorously supported the cause of the Africans, at that time. Colonization men, to our knowledge, have been for years instructing colored people in Bible classes and Sabbath schools, in several of the largest towns in New England. The principal efforts which have been made in the city of Boston for this purpose, have been made by friends of the Colonization Society. We have no doubt that this is the fact throughout the country. What Mrs. C. says about the natural inferiority of the colored race, the danger of giving them knowledge, &c., we consider wholly out of place. The friends of the Colonization Society have no scruples on this point. We have been urging the same thing for years.

"My third and greatest objection to the Colonization Society is, that its members write and speak, both in public and private, as if the prejudice against skins darker colored than our own, was a fixed and unalterable law of our nature, which cannot possibly be changed."

We think this to be an assertion incapable of proof. One of the staunchest advocates of the society, in a speech delivered in Boston, last winter, made it his special object to meet and confute this prejudice. Besides, the labors of the society tend most directly to elevate and ennoble the African race, those who remain in this country, as well as those who emigrate. It is drawing sympathy to the whole of the colored people. It is expending its philanthropy in their behalf. It is giving a practical proof to the world, that the negroes are men, capable of self-government, of feeling responsibility, and of discharging all the duties of society. The great reason of the prejudice which exists against the color of the skin, is that that color is associated with mental and moral inferiority. Remove that inferiority, and you remove the prejudice; and to remove the inferiority, give examples of negro ability and talent. Moreover, has not the society a right to make use of the existing condition of the colored people, confessedly deplorable, as an argument for their voluntary removal? Where is the hardship or wrongfulness of this course? The friends of the society do not discourage the education and moral elevation of the colored people, who remain in this country. On the contrary, they are among their most ardent friends. Has not England a right to present motives before her surplus population, to induce them to remove to New South Wales, and to use the argument of existing and apparently insuperable difficulties, in the way of their elevation, as a reason why this population should remove? It was a wicked prejudice which induced our fathers to leave England and come to these shores. Still it was perfectly right to make use of this prejudice as a motive for the emigration of the pilgrims.

Where Mrs. Child has quoted a statement from the colonization reports, or from the African Repository, in disparagement

of the colored people, we can quote ten in their vindication. These publications are full of attestations of their generous dispositions, and of their capacity for intellectual and moral improvement. What is said about the impossibility of transporting the colored people to Africa, does not require a serious answer. Would it 'bankrupt the treasury of the world' to expend three and a half million of dollars a year—the sum which Mrs. C. says is necessary—for the transportation of 70,000 yearly to Africa? We think it would not quite bankrupt the treasury of the United States. Besides, to keep the evil just where it is, it is not required to transport 70,000 a year. The prolific class, or that between fifteen and forty, would, beyond a question, emigrate, in preference to the very young or the very old. If 20,000 in a year can be transported, it will most essentially mitigate the evil, and most essentially benefit Africa; and cannot ten such colonies as Liberia be established? Mrs. Child says that famines have already been produced, even by the few that have been sent. Will 'one hundred and fifty free blacks,' the number which she says has been sent out yearly to Africa, produce a famine, in a tropical climate, where vegetation is luxuriant almost beyond a parallel! Where is the proof that these famines have existed?

Mr. Hersey, the author of the other book, whose title we have given, is a citizen of a slave State, an uncompromising enemy of slavery, and yet a warm friend of the Colonization Society! He at least does not allow his friendship to the society to blind his eyes to the iniquities of the slave system. He considers the system too 'disgraceful, cruel, dangerous, and unjust.' He reasons with great earnestness and in a truly Christian spirit.

13.—*The Mother at Home; or the Principles of Maternal Duty familiarly illustrated. By John S. C. Abbott, pastor of the Calvinist church, Worcester, Massachusetts. Second edition. Boston: Crocker & Brewster. pp. 164.*

WE are not surprised that this book has so soon reached a second edition. It is written in a fascinating style, with all that interchange of incident, dialogue, appeal, and inculcation of important principle, which will make it deservedly popular. We consider the advice which Mr. Abbott gives on many points, as remarkably *well balanced*. He avoids the evils of extremes, or of attachment to a favorite theory, with remarkable skill. The third chapter, on maternal authority, contains several excellent proofs in point. The style, in our opinion, is well chosen—a medium between the dignified and solemn, and the light and childish; into both of which, writers on these subjects are apt to fall.

We have two or three remarks which may be of some use in

subsequent editions. One is that Mr. A. has several favorite expressions, which he repeats too frequently. The phrases 'guide to the Saviour,' 'lead to the Saviour,' &c. are oftentimes employed. The phrases 'wanderer,' 'wandering in sin,' also frequently occur. On the 16th page is the following sentence—'Had Washington and Byron exchanged cradles, during the first month of their infancy, it is very certain that their characters would have been entirely changed,' &c. With all our belief in the importance of education, and of maternal influence, we cannot assent to that proposition. We believe there is an original difference, which the utmost efforts of discipline cannot change. There was not a particle of poetry in Washington's nature. Did not Byron receive from his mother a physical constitution, conformed to the constitution of that mother, and which no subsequent efforts could have entirely changed; and did not that constitution affect his mind and his heart? We should have been better pleased with the chapters on religious education, if the author had given more prominence to the difficulties in the way of early piety. In the minds of amiable and well educated children, there is not unfrequently a very severe struggle, before they give evidence of sincere piety.

LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

United States.

Most of the colleges in the country, particularly in the northern States, are now in a very flourishing condition. The prospect of a large accession to the various freshman classes, is unusually encouraging. We ascribe this increase to the revivals of religion which prevailed in this country a few years since, and to the competitions among the colleges. The failure of several high schools may also be the means of augmenting the number of those, who resort to college.—Rev. Dr. Chaplin, president of Waterville college, has resigned his office.—A cause of great importance has been decided by Mr. Justice Story, in reference to Bowdoin college. It is important in its bearing on college corporations generally, though in some respects it merely affirms the previous decisions of the supreme court in the case of Dartmouth college. Some of the main points decided, are, that the act of the legislature of the State of Maine, of March 31, 1831, is unconstitutional and void, and president Allen to be still, *de jure*, in office as president of the college. The act of March 19, 1821, providing for the increase of the number of the two boards, is also unconstitutional and void. Of course thirteen persons go out of office as trustees, and twelve persons as overseers. The act of separation of Maine and Massachusetts, making the college wholly independent of the legislature, has never been altered by agreement of the two States. Consequently neither the legislature of Massachusetts nor of Maine, has any authority to alter any of the powers of the two boards of overseers and trustees. By the decision, the college is transferred to its position under the charter of 1794, except that Massachusetts has relinquished to the college its right of changing and annulling the powers of the boards. President Allen has in consequence resumed his duties as president of the college.—Rev. John Wheeler of Windsor, Vt. has been appointed president of the university of Vermont, Dr. Marsh having resigned, preferring, as it is understood, the chair of mental and moral philosophy, which has just been erected. The university is now in a very flourishing state, between thirty and forty students have just been admitted to the two lower classes.—Rev. George Bush, formerly of Indianapolis, Ia. and author of the *Life of Mohammed*, *Notes on Genesis*, &c. has been appointed Phillips professor of theology, at Dartmouth college.—An effort is making to raise a sum sufficient to erect another building for the use of Middlebury college; and also to establish, in connection with the college, a system of manual labor exercise.—We learn that of the subscription of \$50,000 which was raised in behalf of Amherst college, a sufficient portion has been collected to pay the debts of the institution. A new professor is soon to be appointed by the trustees.—Rev. Dr. Popkin has resigned his place as professor of

Greek in Harvard university. Simon Greenleaf, Esq. of Portland, is about entering upon his duties in the same institution as Royall professor of law.—Professor Peck of Brown university has resigned his office in that seminary.—Professor Caswell has declined his appointment as president of Waterville college.—More than two thirds of the subscription of the \$100,000, raised in behalf of Yale college, has been paid. A considerable proportion of the remainder has been well secured. From a portion of this fund, a professorship of law has been established, and chief justice Daggett appointed professor. The foundation is named the Kent professorship, in honor of James Kent, formerly chancellor of the State of New York, a distinguished jurist, and an alumnus of the college.—The foundation of the buildings for the university of New York, has been laid with appropriate ceremonies. The site is on one side of the Washington square, a location as eligible as could be found in the city. The prospects of the university in regard to students are promising.

Professor E. Robinson has resigned his office as professor extraordinary of sacred literature, and librarian of the Andover theological seminary. He will take up his residence in Boston. He will continue, as we understand, to edit the *Biblical Repository*, and the other works in which he is now engaged.—It is intended to establish a new theological seminary in Connecticut. East Hartford has been mentioned as the locality. It is designed for the defence and inculcation of those religious doctrines which have been assailed, as it is supposed, at New Haven.—The Baptists in Connecticut are engaged in founding a school in Suffield, literary and theological, partaking also of the manual labor features.—The foundation of a new edifice, designed for a chapel for the theological seminary, has been laid in Princeton, N. J.—Mr. Stowe has entered upon his labors as professor of biblical literature in the Lane seminary, Ohio.—The evangelical Lutherans are commencing, a new theological institution in Lexington, S. C.

Christian Library.—The design of this work is to publish the most valuable religious and literary works which issue from the British press. Translations of works from the continental press, and occasionally original American productions will be inserted, also brief reviews of such works as do not come within the plan of the publication. The editor is pledged to act on those great principles in which all evangelical Christians agree. It is published in semimonthly numbers of forty-eight pages, making two volumes annually of 576 pages each. The selections for this work thus far meet with our unqualified approbation. We think the editor has manifested sound sense and Christian discernment in his labors. The following are the works published: Dr. Gregory's *Memoir of Hall*, with Mr. Foster's *Observations*; Smedley's *History of the Reformed Religion in France*, a work of absorbing interest; Taylor's *Life of Cowper*, noticed in this number of our work; Rev. Henry Fergus's *Testimony of Nature and Revelation to the Being and Perfections of God*, a work highly spoken of by good judges; Villers's *Prize Essay on the Reformation*, which Dr. Miller, in an introductory essay, says is an important work, ably executed; a *History of the Civilization and Christianization of South*

Africa; Ambrose Serle's *Christian Remembrancer*; and a *Journal of Travels through Switzerland, Savoy, Germany, France, &c.* by the Rev. Dr. Thomas Raffles, of Liverpool. In addition, there is a number of short notices of new publications.

New Society.—An institution has existed at Andover for two years, called the American school agent's society. Its object has been to extend the benefits of well conducted common schools over the whole country. It has attempted to perform this work by sending out qualified agents who have lectured extensively on this subject, and have, in various ways, excited the attention of the community to the defects in our common schools, and to the proper measures for supplying these defects. We understand that the seat of operations of this society will be removed soon to Boston, and that a new and more efficient organization will be effected. It is obvious to a person but slightly acquainted with the condition of our common schools, that they are susceptible of great improvement. At the same time a large proportion of the population, particularly in the States south and west of New York, are entirely destitute. It will probably be found that no system of efforts, by means of the *press alone*, will supply the deficiency. The living teacher or lecturer must awaken an interest, by calling public meetings, by conversing with intelligent men, by lecturing in school districts and elsewhere, by showing what can be done, and where the books and apparatus, and men are for doing the work. We know there are difficulties in a system of agencies, but they are not without a remedy.—A new volume of *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* has just been published, making the fifth volume. The society was established in 1789. N. Bowditch, L.L. D., F. R. S., is president. It is reported that under his auspices, new life has been infused into the body. The contributors to the present volume are Messrs. J. E. Worcester, N. I. Bowditch, R. T. Paine, John Pickering, and others.—The library of the Massachusetts historical society has been removed into the new building in Tremont street, erected for the savings bank.

Commentaries.—The Messrs. Adams, and Lucius Boltwood, of Amherst, Ms., have in press, and will soon publish, *Doddridge's Family Expositor*, complete in one volume, at \$3 75 a copy. Prof. Stuart will furnish an introduction to the commentary, and Prof. Fiske, of Amherst college, a biographical sketch of Dr. Doddridge. We have seen a sample of the work, now stereotyping at the Boston type and stereotype foundry, and can cordially recommend it as in every respect well executed. A finely engraved portrait of the author, on steel, will accompany each copy.—Rev. Dr. Jenks, assisted by several gentlemen, is proceeding with the *Comprehensive Commentary*. At what time the first volume will appear, we are not informed. Henry is made the basis, and a great variety of authors, English, Latin, French, and others, supply notes and illustrations.—*Scott's Commentary* is now sold for \$7 50. Its original price in this country, was, we believe, \$40 00. An edition is commenced in England, with engravings and various illustrations.

Lincoln, Edmands & Co., of Boston, will soon publish a memoir of Roger Williams, by Rev. James D. Knowles, of the Newton theological institution. It is supposed that this work will clearly illustrate the principles of religious freedom, of which Roger Williams is a well known assertor.—The same publishers have also in press, a biography of the Rev. Pres. Staughton, of the Columbian college, D. C., with a selection from his writings, by the Rev. Mr. Lynde, of Cincinnati.—Measures are in operation, to collect materials for publishing memoirs of Rev. Thomas Baldwin, D. D., Rev. Stephen Gano, M. D., Rev. Richard Furman, D. D., and other Baptist divines.—Two editions of Lowth's Isaiah are in press, one the 'variorum edition,' comprising the variations of Dodson and Stock, and perhaps those in the late edition of Mr. Noyes, noticed in this number of the Observer; the other edition, publishing by William Hilliard, is to contain simply the translation, dissertations, and notes, as left by bishop Lowth. Rosenmueller says, that Lowth understands and expresses the Hebrew poet better than any other writer. Of Dodson and Stock, we have no knowledge.—An excellent edition of Lowth's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry was published a few years since, by Prof. Stowe, of Cincinnati.—A new quarterly periodical publication is about to be commenced in New York city. It is to be partly literary, and partly theological. It will contain discussions on various points of controverted doctrine. We learn that an ample fund has been provided, for establishing the periodical on a sure foundation.—The Rev. Dr. Tyler, of Portland, will soon collect and publish, in a separate volume, with some additions, his articles on the New Haven controversy.—The first number of the Religious Magazine has just been issued, by William Peirce, of Boston. Messrs. Gorham D. and Jacob Abbott are to be jointly engaged in conducting it; the former to be the responsible editor. It is to be highly practical in its character, and familiar in its style, as it is designed to meet the wants of the great mass of society. It will embrace articles on the elementary principles of religion, unconnected with controversy; articles on the Bible, for Sabbath school scholars, teachers, and others; reviews of such religious books as are calculated to circulate widely through the community; essays on the practical duties and relations of life; narratives; occasional extracts; communications illustrating religious education; religious and literary enterprises of the day, &c. It will be published monthly, each number 48 pages, making an annual volume of 576 pages; the price \$2 50 in advance. We see no reason why this publication may not become a very effective instrument in promoting the great cause of human happiness. One of the editors has just returned from Europe, where he has been engaged in making preparations for his labors.

Herder's Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, translated by professors Marsh and Torrey, of the university of Vermont, will soon appear.—George, Latimer & Co., of Philadelphia, have just published Hengstenberg's Christologie, a view of those prophecies and parts of the Old Testament which relate to the Messiah. The translator is Prof. Keith, of the theological institution at Alexandria, D. C. Hengstenberg is well known, as the editor of the Evangelical Church Journal, of Berlin.

Great Britain.

The British Association for the Advancement of Science commenced its third meeting at Cambridge, on the 24th of June last. Its first meeting was held at York, in 1831, and the second in Oxford, in 1832. The fourth is to be held at Edinburgh. This association was originally proposed by Sir David Brewster. Its objects are to "give a stronger impulse and more systematic direction to scientific inquiry, to promote the intercourse of those who cultivate science, in different parts of the British empire, with one another, and with foreign philosophers, and to obtain a greater degree of national attention to the objects of science, and a removal of any disadvantages of a public nature which impede its progress." In the morning, meetings of the sections were held, composed of some of the most eminent members of the different branches of science, and general meetings of the society at 1 o'clock, and in the evening. The sections were, 1. mathematical and general physics, Mr. Brewster chairman; 2. chemistry, mineralogy, &c., Dr. Dalton chairman; 3. geology and geography, Mr. G. B. Greenough chairman; 4. natural history, Rev. W. L. P. Garmons chairman; 5. anatomy, &c., Dr. Haviland chairman. Some of the subjects discussed were the following: On the phenomena of aurora borealis; some account of isomorphism; on the pith of plants; shafts of mines; nervous system, &c. At the general meeting, Dr. Buckland, as president for the past year, addressed the assembly, in which he gave an account of the volume of reports just issued by the society. He then resigned his place to the Rev. Prof. Sedgwick, who also addressed the meeting. He was followed by the Rev. W. Whewell. When the meeting was opened on Monday, the number of members amounted to 688; before the close, it had reached 1,377. A great proportion of the men of science from Great Britain were present.

Iona Club.—A society has been projected in Edinburgh, by some enthusiastic admirers of Gaelic literature, to be called the *Iona Club*, in commemoration of the monastery of Iona, the ancient seat of Scottish learning. Its objects are to investigate and illustrate the history, antiquities, and early literature of the Highlands of Scotland. It will print a half-yearly miscellany, comprehending copies and abstracts of interesting historical documents, English, Latin, and Gaelic, and the transactions of the club. It offers medals. The number of members is 100.

A newly invented microscope, of great power, has lately been shown in London. A united stream of oxygen and hydrogen gas, directed against a piece of lime, produces a light of such vivid force, as effectually answers all the purposes of the strong solar illumination. With all the powers of the solar microscope, it can represent objects five hundred thousand times as large as they really are. The external integument of a fly's eye, filled with thousands of lenses, appears in the dimensions of a lady's veil.—In the United Kingdom, more than 700 temperance societies have been established; the members in England and Wales are 53,000; in Scotland, about the same number; and in Ireland, upwards of 15,000; these, added to the numbers who have associated in the British colonies, form a total of about 150,000 British subjects, who have associated to banish the ruinous use of

ardent spirits as a beverage. Nearly 1,500,000 tracts on temperance have been issued in London alone.

A late number of the London Quarterly Journal contains an interesting article on Hebrew grammars and lexicons. "The grammar by which Reuchlinus, more than 300 years ago, first introduced the study of Hebrew to the more general notice of Christian divines, is by far more useful and intelligible than this (Noble's grammar) and similar modern publications. It was owing to the deadening influence of such incoherent systems, that the knowledge of Hebrew was nearly extinguished in Great Britain, until it was revived during the last ten years, by the general desire of examining thoroughly the correctness of the interpretations advanced by some great agitators in the religious world, and by the light of German philologists reflected from America upon Great Britain. Moses Stuart, the associate professor of sacred literature in the institution at Andover, in the United States of North America, alluding to the German neologists, exhorted his pupils 'to spoil these Egyptians of their jewels of learning;' and he set them a good example by rendering the results of Gesenius's investigations accessible to English readers, in a grammar which by far surpasses in value, all those elementary publications, of which Great Britain has been even more productive than Germany itself." "Dr. Nicol, the late regius professor of Hebrew at Oxford, recommended Stuart's grammar to his pupils, and in consequence of the recommendations of the present regius professor, the European reprint has been undertaken. The grammars of professor Stuart are not mere translations from the German originals, but rather *eclectic imitations*, by which he has given a new impulse to the study of Hebrew among the Anglo-Germanic tribes on both sides of the Atlantic. The chief defect of professor Stuart's grammar consists in the attempt to avoid every defect, and in the consequent admission of lexicographical materials, by which the grammatical rules are obscured." "We conclude by expressing our respect for the learning of the author, who has reflected the rays of German biblical knowledge from America upon Britain." Professor Gibbs's lexicon and manual are said to be not mere vocabularies, but judicious condensations of the works of Gesenius. Rev. Dr. Edward Hincks's Hebrew grammar, used in the college at Belfast in Ireland, is said to be a pleasing proof that in Ireland the study of Hebrew is now cultivated on better principles. Mr. Synge's Easy Introduction to the Hebrew Language on the principles of Pestalozzi, is well spoken of. The work originated in the convictions of a parent, that if a dead language be the proper material for training the early powers of the human intellect, Hebrew ought to be the first dead language presented to the mind of a Christian child.

A theological prize at Oxford, on the subject of 'the analogy of God's dealings with men, would not lead us to expect a perpetual reversion of miraculous powers in the church,' has been awarded to Henry William Wilberforce, M. A. of Oriel college. The subject for the prize in 1834, is 'the sanctifying influence of the Holy Ghost indispensable to human salvation.'—Mountford Longford, LL. D. has been appointed the first professor of political economy on the foundation of archbishop Whateley, in the uni-

versity of Dublin.—Rev. M. S. Alexander has been named as professor of Hebrew and Rabbinical literature in King's college, London; and Rev. R. Jones, professor of political economy, in place of N. W. Senior, Esq. resigned.

France.

Paris was the tenth town in Europe, in which a printing press was established. It was set up by Ulrich Gering, a native of the canton of Luzerne, in the house of the Sorbonne, in 1469. Strasburg was the next town which had the advantage of a press, and soon afterwards, Lyons. In 1830, there were 233 towns in France, which had altogether 620 printing houses, and 259 towns in which 1,142 booksellers were established. Paris alone had 80 presses; Lyons, 12 presses and 24 booksellers. The average result is, that there is one press in France to every 51,327 inhabitants, and one bookseller to every 27,763. In Prussia there are 280 printing houses and 693 presses, or one printing establishment to every 46,213 souls. Weimar has a printing office to 19,166 souls. Leipzig alone, employs 120 presses. Switzerland, with a population of 2,000,000, possesses between 145 and 150 presses, attached to 46 printing establishments.—The Academy of Moral and Political Sciences of the French Institute has elected, as foreign associates, Lord Brougham and M. Ancillon, of Berlin.—M. Tessier, a distinguished architect and geologist, has announced to the Academy of Sciences his approaching departure for the East, whither he is sent by government for the purpose of inquiring into the ancient architecture of these countries. It is his intention to make a trigonometrical survey of the lakes of Asia. He will also inquire into the state of the principal libraries.—Coray, the celebrated Greek author, who did so much to revive, among his countrymen, a love of the literature of their illustrious ancestors, and who died in Paris, in April last, in his 85th year, was born in Chios, in 1748, and went to Montpellier in 1782, for the purpose of studying medicine and natural history. He has left his valuable library to his country, which he had the consolation to see in the enjoyment of that independence for which she had fought with such heroism.—The 19th volume of the collections of the great French historians has just made its appearance. It is divided into three series, the first comprising the historians of the wars against the Albigenses.—The first part of the first volume of the long announced *Encyclopedie des gens du Monde*, to be completed in about twelve volumes, or twenty-four parts, has made its appearance at Paris. It is designed for readers of all nations, and will be written with a spirit of moderation and tolerance.

Germany.

A new Conversations-Lexicon, in ten volumes, is announced for publication, by a learned society of Leipzig.—Dr. E. G. Graff announces for publication, a Dictionary of the Old High German language.—A new edition of Suidas's Greek Lexicon is announced for publication, in two volumes, under the editorship of professor Bernhardt. The text will be the *editio princeps* of Milan.—The Prussian monarchy represented in its topographi-

cal, statistical, and economical state,' by Dr. Leopold Krug, is now in a course of publication.—A new portrait of Goëthe has just been published by Schwerdgeburth, which, in point of characteristic resemblance, is said to be superior to any that have yet appeared of that extraordinary man.—The board of curators of the university of Göttingen have recently determined to construct a building, into the materials of which no iron is to enter, for the purpose of making magnetic observations. Von Humboldt has set the example, by erecting a similar structure, at his own expense, at Berlin, and providing it with a valuable set of instruments, made by Gambey, of Paris. A series of hourly observations is intended to be instituted at Göttingen.

Spain.

A number of the treatises of the British Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge have been translated into Spanish. The works are neatly printed, with well executed lithographic illustrations. They are published at Barcelona, but there are regularly appointed agents in thirty-two other cities and towns in Spain.

Holland.

Societies were formed in Holland at the close of the 14th century, one of whose objects was to multiply and circulate copies of the Holy Scriptures; and the benefit of placing them in the hands of the laity was eloquently enforced by Zerbolt, a Roman Catholic priest. These societies spread with rapidity through the low countries and the adjacent states of Germany.

Switzerland.

The opening of the university of Zurich took place on the 29th of April, when the inaugural oration was delivered by professor Oken, the first rector of the university. In the canton of Neuchâtel, containing 50,000 inhabitants, the number of national schools is 221; of scholars, 7,766.

Hungary.

The Protestants in this country have several excellent gymnasia, as well as three seminaries of a higher order; the colleges of Debreczin, Sáros Patak and Pápa, containing in all 2,000 students.

Russia.

The Corpus Juris, or new code of the Russian empire, which has been recently published, is composed of a collection of laws, promulgated between 1649 and 1827. It is arranged in a systematic order, and in a clear, concise, and comprehensive manner. It is of pure Russian origin from beginning to end. It is to go into operation on the first of January, 1835. It is composed of eight divisions, in fifteen volumes: 1. The organization of the various departments of law; 2. Orders touching personal service; 3. Orders touching the administration of the public revenues; 4. Laws concerning the various classes of society; 5. Civil laws and registries; 6. Ordinances touching the economy of the state; 7. Ordinances affecting matters of police; 8. Criminal laws.

The Armenians.

Sir Alexander Johnstone, in a late meeting of the Asiatic Society, stated some interesting facts in regard to the Armenians. The nation numbers not less than 10 or 12,000,000 in Asia. The literary character of the people is not less remarkable than their close application to trade. Their colleges at Echmiadzin and St. Lazarus possess excellent libraries, and effect a great deal for the promotion of literature among the people in general. At Constantinople, they contemplate erecting an hospital and school, for which they have received the sanction of the sultan, and one of their priests, the Rev. Nerses Lazarien, is now in London to endeavor to secure the co-operation of the liberal in this project. It is hoped that the sum of £30,000, left for the promotion of education among the Armenians, by Mr. Raphael, may be assigned to this object by the court of chancery, in whose hands it now is. Among the Armenians, who are now exerting an extraordinary influence, are M. Albro, the prime minister of the pashá of Egypt; his cousin, who has had a mail coach with complete harness sent out to him, and intends it to travel on the road between Cairo, Alexandria, Damietta, and Rosetta; and Syeed Khan, the agent of the prince royal of Persia, who has taken out English miners, for the purpose of exploring the mines of that country, and had recently freighted a ship, direct from London, to the port of Trebizond, being the first instance of such a voyage.

Indoostan.

The British Dominions in Asia have some peculiar advantages for the purposes of scientific and philosophical research. The surface of the country presents a difference of elevation above the level of the sea, varying from six miles to 26,000 feet. The phenomena of the atmosphere can nowhere be studied with greater facility and accuracy, while the vast range of its natural productions affords ample scope for observation and experiment; and above all, a population of 100,000,000 of persons, presents an equally fertile subject of moral investigation.—In the new charter of the East India company, the following ecclesiastical provisions are proposed to be inserted: that the archdeaconries of Bombay and Madras be abolished, and that in lieu of them a suffragan or assistant bishop be appointed for each of those presidencies, on a salary exceeding only by £500 that of the archdeacon, which is £2,000 per annum. To assist the suffragan bishops, it is proposed, that the senior chaplain at Bombay and Madras be respectively made commissaries, with an allowance of £200 or £230 per annum, in addition to their salaries as chaplains. The suffragan bishops, proceeding in that capacity from England to India, are to be allowed £500 for outfit. The allowance for the purpose to the bishop of Calcutta is £1,200. The assistant bishops are to be competent to perform all the duties, within their respective dioceses, which now devolve upon the bishop of Calcutta. An appeal will lie, however, to the metropolitan at Calcutta, from the decisions of his suffragans. In pursuance of this arrangement, archdeacon Robinson of Madras, (a son of the excellent Mr. Robinson of Leicester,) is appointed to the bishopric of Madras. The see of Bombay will probably be supplied

from England. The bishop of Calcutta has under his jurisdiction, in addition to the presidency of Calcutta, Van Diemen's Land, New South Wales, Ceylon, the Cape of Good Hope, and the Mauritius.—The committee of the Asiatic Society have taken measures for procuring a list of the principal manuscripts employed in the schools, and "it is hoped that through the medium of the missionaries residing in Jaffna, Ceylon, (the American,) translations of them may be obtained, and their real style and tendency made known."

Abolition of slavery in Ceylon.—In 1816, 748 slave-holders, proprietors of more than 15,000 slaves, agreed that the children of slaves, born after the 12th of August of that year, should be free. Domestic slavery having been put an end to, the same measures were adopted for the benefit of the *allodial* (feudal slaves) and of between 24,000 and 25,000 of this class, the greater portion have become free. The relinquishment of the right to demand compulsory labor from the natives on the part of the government, has at length taken place, much to its credit, under the administration of the present governor, Sir R. W. Horton.—*Cutch.* It seems that infanticide is still practised in this territory. The male Rajpút population still predominates over the female, in the proportion of nearly six to one. It is probable that the Rajpúts do not restrict themselves solely to destroying the females of a family, considering the small number of male children; a chief rarely having more than one boy.—*Native vessels of the coasts of Coromandel, Malabar, and of Ceylon:* the *catamarans* of Ceylon, Malabar, and Coromandel; *canoes* of Point de Galle, and the Malabar coast; the *jungar* of the Malabar coast, for the navigation of rivers; the *hamban manché*, or snake boat of Cochin; the *bunder manché*, or boat used to load ships and carry goods on the Malabar coast; the *masula* boats, chiefly employed at Madras; the *Mangalore*, the *Calicut*, and *Ponane manché*, different descriptions of coasting boats; *patamars*, vessels employed in the coasting trade from Ceylon to Bombay; Arab *dows*, vessels employed in the trade between the Red sea, the Arabian coast, the Persian gulf, &c., used also for purposes of war and piracy, always manned by Arabs; *budgerows*, trading vessels, carrying on commercial intercourse between the same limits as the preceding Indian vessels, and manned with Indian seamen, called lascars; *doni*, a vessel trading along the coast of Coromandel to Ceylon, and the gulf of Manar; the *boatila manché*, employed in the gulf of Manar, and southern part of Ceylon.

VIEW OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS.**United States.**

THE bank of the United States was chartered in 1816, with a capital of \$35,000,000. For this charter, the government received a bonus of \$1,500,000 from the stockholders. The direction of the institution was left to the stockholders, except that the government received the right of appointment and removal at pleasure of five directors out of the twenty-five, and also the right to demand a statement of the concerns of the institution by committees of either branch of Congress. The charter expires on the 3d of March, 1836. The bank is prohibited from purchasing any part of the public debt, taking interest over six per cent, or loaning to the government over \$500,000, or to any State, over \$50,000. It is also obliged to give the government the necessary facilities for transferring the public funds from place to place, within the United States, without charging commissions, or claiming any allowance on account of the difference of exchange, and to transact all the business of commissioners of loans whenever required so to do. The institution is essentially commercial in its character, being directly auxiliary to the government, and subject to its control only as a financial engine. Its most beneficial influence has been felt in the restoration of the currency to a sound state; for at the time of its going into operation, many of the state banks had an immense amount of unredeemable paper in circulation. As soon as the United States bank went into operation, with its various branches in the commercial cities, it became necessary for all the other banks within the circle of its influence, to resume specie payments, or discontinue their operations. The consequence of the influence of this institution, was a complete restoration of the currency to specie or its equivalent. The dividends have varied from five to six per cent. The amount of stock held by foreigners in January, 1832, was 84,055 shares; equal to \$8,405,500. The domestic stockholders of the bank were 3,602 in number. The amount of bills discounted by the bank on personal securities, was \$48,758,570 54; on funded debt, \$18,850 00; on bank stock, \$731,157 53; domestic bills of exchange, \$16,691,129 34. The amount of specie on hand was \$7,038,828 12.

On the 10th of July, 1832, an act extending the charter of the bank having passed both houses of congress—the senate, by a vote

of 28 to 20, and the house by a vote of 105 to 83, was returned by the president, with his objections to signing it; and less than two thirds voting for its passage, the act was rejected. The president contended that the bank was unconstitutional in some of its features; that it may pass into the hands of foreigners; that it is a monopoly of the rich; that it has more capital than is necessary; that suspicion of corruption attaches to its proceedings, &c. These various objections were met, and shown to be without foundation, by Mr. Webster and other members of congress. Previously to the vote in congress, a special committee had been appointed by the house, to proceed to Philadelphia, and examine the concerns of the bank. The majority made a report unfavorable to rechartering. The minority also offered a report, drawn up at great length by Mr. J. Q. Adams, in opposition to the report of the majority. In the winter of 1832-3, an agent was commissioned by government to report respecting the safety of continuing the United States' deposits in the bank. The report fully certified to the safety of the deposits. Subsequently, a committee of the house was directed to consider and report on the same subject. The conclusion of their report is as follows: "The available and secure resources of the bank, amounted on the first of January, 1833, to \$80,865,000, whilst all the claims against it for bills, debts, and deposits, including those of the government, and for the redemption of the public debt were but \$37,800,000, leaving above \$43,000,000 as a guarantee to the nation against all losses. These general statements derive strong confirmation from the fact that the specie actually within the vaults of the bank of the United States, is within *one tenth* of the amount held by all the other banks in the Union, while its circulation of paper is but *one fourth* of the aggregate of theirs. In other words, the bank of the United States has above *nine millions* of specie, with a circulation of notes to the amount of seventeen millions and a half; while the aggregate of all the other banks, with specie in their vaults but a little above ten millions, have a circulation of bank paper of *sixty-eight millions*." The report was accepted, ten thousand extra copies ordered to be printed, and the following resolution passed by a large majority. "That the government deposits may, in the opinion of the house, be safely continued in the bank of the United States."

In the month of September last, the president came to the determination to remove the deposits, notwithstanding the vote of the house of representatives, and the decided opposition of the secretaries of war, navy, and the treasury. This is the more extraordinary, as the matter is intrusted by law in the hands of the secretary of the treasury, who is made immediately answerable to congress on

this subject, and who, in extreme cases, may remove or change the deposits of the public money. It seems to be nothing more nor less than an act of direct usurpation on the part of the president. We do not say this in a partizan spirit. We have no connection with any political party. There are some things about the president and his administration, which have met our unqualified approbation; but we think that in this case, he has transcended his powers. He, of all men in the country, ought to manifest a prompt and unhesitating obedience to those laws and that constitution, which he has sworn to support. The grounds alleged in the paper which he read to his cabinet, in justification of his course, namely, the political influence which the bank is said to have exerted against his administration, &c. are, if true, altogether unworthy of a man in his high office, to bring forward. In consequence, the secretary of the treasury, Mr. Duane, has been removed, and Mr. R. B. Taney, attorney general, has been appointed in his place.

The elections for state officers, and for members of congress, have just taken place in several of the States. There has not been by any means so much excitement and appeal to angry passion, and bitter personality, as characterized the elections of the last year. There have still, however, been many things which a true lover of his country must deplore. Some of the political papers in Maine, during the late election (we do not take Maine because she is worse than some other States) were charged with the most outrageous personalities. The effervescence of passion was in inverse proportion to the amount of sense and argument. One man was deified, and his opponent was represented to be as destitute of principle as a demon incarnate. We hoped that the visit of the president would allay the heats of party. It seems, however, to have occasioned only a temporary calm. South Carolina has elected an entire delegation of nullifiers to congress, with the exception of General Blair. A part of the delegations of North Carolina, Virginia, Georgia and Alabama, are also of the same political complexion. We are glad to see that the Hon. John Sergeant, of Philadelphia, is in nomination for congress. The exertions of this gentleman on the Missouri question, several years since, entitle him to the gratitude of the country.

The American Board of Missions has lately held its annual meeting in Philadelphia. We hardly need say that the anniversary was one of great interest. This society has the advantage of all others in several respects. By the mode of its organization, it has a large number of distinguished and *select* men as corporate members, who constitute a kind of *patres conscripti*, venerable for age and wisdom. Again, from the nature of the enterprise, every year brings forward

new topics, and clothes old ones in fresh interest. Some of the missions of the society are established in regions teeming with ancient cherished associations, or with present absorbing political revolutions. It has reporters at Athens, at the seat of the Ottoman power, in the heart of the new Egyptian dynasty, and on the confines of the mighty empires of Eastern Asia. The anniversary of the Board presents *one single* object before the community. The interest in its proceedings is not lost, or diminished, by the claims of other kindred objects, as would be the case, if its annual festival were holden in May. In consequence, the public press circulates a much more extended account of its proceedings and report. We give the following synopsis of the results of the past year.

"The Board has at present under its care 22 missions, viz. to Greece, Constantinople, Syria, the Jews, Bombay, Ceylon, Siam, China, the Indian Archipelago, the Sandwich islands, Patagonia, the Cherokees west of the Mississippi, the Choctaws, the Creeks, the Osages, the Stockbridges, Mackinaw, the Ojibeways, Maumee, and Indians in New York. These missions include 60 stations, 83 ordained missionaries, 6 physicians not ordained, 6 printers, 26 other assistant missionaries, 126 females, 4 native preachers, 46 native assistants; making 247 laborers in the gospel sent from this country, and 50 native preachers and assistants; which make a total of 297.

"Of these, 48 persons have been sent out the last year; viz. 19 ordained missionaries, 2 physicians, 2 printers, and 25 other assistants. The churches connected with, and formed by these missions, are in number 37, and contain 1,704 communicants gathered from the heathen. The scholars connected with schools belonging to these missions, are about 50,000. The presses belonging to the Board, last year issued nearly 7,500,000 pages of the word of God, and other religious matter. Since the first establishment of these presses, they have printed for missionary purposes 68,000,000 of pages. The Board is about to commence immediately new missions in western and eastern Africa, in the islands of Crete and Cyprus in the Mediteranean, at Broosa in Asia Minor, and in Persia. Several others are in contemplation on the eastern continent, and among the American Indians.

"The receipts of the Board during the past year, have exceeded those of the preceding year by \$15,270 65; and have amounted to \$145,844 77; which added to the balance in the treasury at the commencement of the year, gave \$152,522 41 of funds at the disposal of the Committee during the year. Of this sum there have been expended in prosecuting the various objects of the Board, \$149,906 27; leaving in the treasury of disposal funds, at the close of the past

financial year, on the first of August last, \$2,616 14. In addition to the disbursements just stated, there have passed through the treasury of the Board, from the American Bible Society, \$5,000, to aid the Bombay mission in printing the Scriptures in the Mahratta language; \$500, to aid the Sandwich islands mission in printing the Scriptures in the Hawaiian language; and \$300, to aid in printing the Scriptures in Cherokee;—from the Philadelphia Bible Society, \$1,500, to aid in printing the Hawaiian Scriptures;—from the American Tract Society, \$6,000, to aid in printing tracts at Bombay, Ceylon, China, the Sandwich islands, and in the Mediterranean;—and from other sources, for Bibles and Tracts, \$120: making the sum total of \$17,920; and the total disbursements of the Society \$167,826 27.”

On the Sabbath evening following the meeting of the Board, the instructions of the prudential committee were given to the Rev. John L. Wilson, who is about to embark on an exploring tour into Western Africa. The document was read by Mr. Anderson, one of the secretaries of the Board, and contains some striking remarks. The value of life is to be measured not in years and days, but by the amount of enlarged thought and effective labor expended in behalf of an unenlightened world.

“‘That life is *long*, which answers life’s great end.’ *Time*—what is it? In respect to *matter*, it measures the revolutions of worlds round their axes and through their orbs. But in respect to *man*, time is the indicator of the number of his thoughts, and feelings, and actions. Time seems long or short to every man, in proportion to the number of these; and so it is. That man lives longest, whose intellect and heart are most instinct with being, and who puts forth the greatest number of actions. And he lives to the best purpose, whose thoughts, feelings, and actions, all tend most to render the gospel effectual to the salvation of men. Whose life is longer, when measured by such a standard, and whose is more desirable, than was that of Brainerd, or Martyn, or Mills; though neither of them saw half the number of days allotted to human existence on earth? How short, too, were the life and ministry of Jesus Christ; and yet, in another, and juster view, how long! Not to prolong life to the utmost did He aim; but to accomplish by sufferings and by death, the object for which he came into the world; and such an object accomplished, swells his short life into a kind of infinitude. And the value of an existence on earth is to be enhanced in the same manner as was his. Let the soul be filled with the same grand designs, which occupied the attention of the Son of God on earth; and then will thought and feeling of a kindred nature be awakened, and crowd the mind—time will be filled with thought and feeling; and

every moment, fraught with spiritual life, will dilate itself along the scale of immortality; so that we shall have accomplished much for God, and attained to a ripe old age, and be in readiness to die, when the sluggish man, of the same number of years, is, as it were, in the very infancy of his being."

The force of the following paragraph will be appreciated by those who have read the narratives of Humboldt, Bonpland, or Franklin.

"Whatever be the result of this mission in respect to yourself, let it be remembered, that the sacrifices made by you and your friends, the privations and hardships to which you will be subjected, and the dangers you will have to encounter, and which appear so formidable to many, *are extraordinary only in the history of missions*. In the history of commerce and of science, they are common and familiar scenes. Almost a century since, de la Condamine and Bouguer spent six months in a desert of South America, near the equator, contending day and night with incessant rains, that they might measure an arc of the meridian; while Maupertuis, in pursuit of the same object, thought nothing of the bleak and snowy precipices of Norway. What contempt of sufferings and danger has been evinced by the explorers of a north-western passage! How many privations, and sufferings unto death, have been cheerfully endured in Africa itself, to solve the problems of the Nile, and of the Niger! From what part of the world, and by what amount of privation and peril, is *commerce* deterred from sending her missionaries for exploration and for traffic? From none. All along the coast of Guinea you will find them, and plying to and fro in steam vessels upon the Niger. Commerce has no difficulty in procuring her missionaries for any portion of the earth; and even now they are *going forth into all the world*. Let the missionary of the cross go where he will, he will find that they have preceded him. Let him experience any amount of bodily sufferings; and it may probably be found that they have already experienced the same or greater sufferings, among the same people. It is lamentable that the church should make so much of personal sacrifices, endured for the glory of Christ and the salvation of men, when the world accounts them so little, endured for the sake of wealth or fame."

The Colonization Society of the State of Maryland, is about to establish a new colony on the coast of Africa, at cape Palmas. This cape is on the western coast, in north latitude 4° 30', being four degrees south of Sierra Leone, and nearly two degrees south of Liberia. The cape is included in the windward coast. This coast the English seamen have divided into three coasts, the Grain, Ivory,

and Kakoo. The Grain coast comprehends all the region between cape Mount, near Liberia, and cape Palmas. This coast produces abundance of rice, yams, and manioc. The cotton and indigo of the country are of the first quality. The articles for which Europeans have hitherto visited it, are malaguette, pepper, redwood, and ivory. The inhabitants are said to be excellent boatmen. Dr. Hall, who is to take charge of the emigrants, has visited the cape for the recovery of his health, and speaks in high terms of its salubrity and other advantages. The first emigrants will be from twenty to thirty in number, all pledged to total abstinence in respect to the use or traffic in ardent spirits. They will devote themselves almost exclusively to agriculture. It is intended to use the utmost precaution in respect to the admission of improper emigrants. It is obvious that the colony will be established under very favorable auspices, having for its use, all the experience of the Liberian colony. If the latter should accomplish no other purpose than to show the practicability of the scheme, its title to our gratitude would be very great. We are happy to say that the board of managers of the Maryland society seem to be animated by an excellent spirit. Some of them, particularly Messrs. Harper, Latrobe, and Sheppard, have long been interested in the subject. It will be recollected that the ultimate abolition of slavery in Maryland is the design of these efforts.

A convention of the friends of temperance has been lately held in Worcester, Mass. Every part of the State was fully represented, about 500 delegates being present. The governor of the State, Levi Lincoln, presided. The same course in general was taken which was adopted by the late national convention, and which has been attended by such salutary consequences. One of the most prominent difficulties in the way of the temperance reformation in Massachusetts, is the license-system. A board of county commissioners, formed principally for the regulation of roads and highways, have a supervisory power over the selectmen or government of a town; and if the latter body refuse to grant licenses, or do not license so many persons as "*the public good*" seems to require, the commissioners kindly set the matter right by granting the required indulgence. The law evidently needs a reform in this particular. If we must yet be cursed with a system, which is the cause of three fourths of our pauper-taxes, lawsuits, strifes, and horrid crimes, let every town have full power to keep its own borders pure; let no county commissioners nullify the acts of a town. We are cheered with the hope that the day is not far distant, when the statute laws of Massachusetts shall have nothing to do with 'regulating murder,' as Burke

said of the slave-trade. A masterly examination of this subject will be found in the sixth report of the American Temperance Society.

We learn that petitions will be presented to the next congress for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. The number of slaves in this territory in 1830 was 6,060, and of free colored persons, 6,163. The number of free white persons was 27,635. The number of slaves in 1820, was 6,377; so it seems that there has been a diminution of more than 200 in ten years. It was stated two or three years since, we do not know on what authority, that a majority of the white inhabitants of the District, including some of the judges of the courts, were in favor of the passage of a law, fixing a time when slavery should cease. It is a notorious fact, that the jails of the District have been burdened with slaves, brought there as into safe receptacles, till they could be satisfactorily disposed of in the market. We are not aware than any impediments to abolition exist in the conditions on which the cession of the district was made by the States of Maryland and Virginia to the United States. The principal objection, which arises in our minds to the measure, is the aspect which it may assume in respect to the abolition of slavery in the States over which neither congress nor the free States have any control. Notwithstanding, we think the measure is eminently desirable. That District, of all other places on earth, should be pure from the contamination of slavery. The whole country have an interest in its prosperity, and through congress, have the entire business of its legislation intrusted to their keeping.

We are sorry to say that the ravages of the cholera have been very melancholy in the western States. Some of the most valuable members of society have been swept into eternity. We are happy to add that the pestilence has now nearly ceased. We have seen no attempt to account for its reappearance, and its indiscriminating virulence. New Orleans, in addition to the cholera, has been laid waste with the yellow fever. That is truly a city of death. Cannot some decided measures be taken to investigate thoroughly the causes of the maladies, which are constantly sending a thrill of sorrow into every portion of the Union. It seems to us that some determined effort ought to be adopted by the authorities more especially interested, to give the city and surrounding country a general *lustration*, physical and moral. The climate must operate as a serious embarrassment to the commercial prosperity of the city.

West Indies.

In connection with these islands, we may appropriately introduce the following condensed statement of the labors of the United

Brethren for the conversion of the heathen. The 21st of August, 1832, was celebrated throughout the church of the Brethren; a century having been then completed from the day of their first effort in behalf of the pagans. Their missions were commenced in the West Indies.

"The missionary spirit manifested itself as early as the year 1727, and every opportunity was gladly embraced of yielding to its blessed influence.

"Thus, on the 21st of August, 1732, the first two missionaries of the Brethren's church—Leonard Dober and David Nitschman—set out for the island of St. Thomas: on the 19th of January, 1733, three brethren—Matt. Stach, Christian Stach, and Christian David—burning with like zeal, took their departure for Greenland: John Töltschig and Anthony Seiffarth proceeded, in 1734, to North America; others, in 1735, to Surinam and Berbice, Lewis Chr. Dehne and J. Güttner, forming the first settlement in Berbice in 1738: in 1736, George Schmidt proceeded to the Cape of Good Hope.

"During the ten years which followed the period now alluded to, the missionary spirit lost much of its energy. Another period of ten years now succeeded of a different complexion.

"The mission in Jamaica was begun in 1754, by Zach. George Caries; and that in Antigua in 1756, by Samuel Isles: both these missions were, in the sequel, crowned with the most encouraging success. Neither was the wild and inhospitable coast of Labrador forgotten at that time, though the establishment of a mission among the predatory and murderous Esquimaux could not be effected till 1770, by the Brn. Jens Haven, Lawrence Drachart, and Stephen Jensen.

"In the year 1765, the mission in Barbadoes took its rise; and the first settlement was formed in 1767, by Benjamin Brookshaw—in 1775, that in St. Kitt's, by the Brn. Birkby and Gottwald—and in 1790, that in Tobago, by Br. J. Montgomery: this was afterwards suspended, but was renewed in 1827.

"In the year 1792, the mission at the Cape of Good Hope was renewed by the Brn. H. Marsveld, D. Schwinn, and J. Kühnel; and, in subsequent years, was greatly enlarged. The inspection of the leper hospital was also committed by government to the Brethren. In 1828, our missionaries in South Africa ventured to go beyond the boundary of the Cape Colony, into the country of the Tambookies, a Caffree tribe, and the settlement of Shiloh has, in a short time, obtained an unexpected increase from the surrounding population.

"On this festive day, we see 209 brethren and sisters diligently employed on 41 missionary stations, in sowing the gospel seed; and

count upwards of 40,000 Greenlanders, Esquimaux, Indians, Negroes, Hottentots, and Caffres, including about 17,000 communicants, whom we are favored to call our brethren and sisters in the Lord. And how many thousands are already standing before the throne of the Lamb, who, while here below, were turned by the ministry of our brethren *from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan unto God!*

"It is on this day a subject of thankfulness and joy, that the Lord has hitherto raised up brethren and sisters, who were willing to give up their worldly prospects, their native land and connections, their personal comforts, yea, their health and life, to engage in that missionary work, which He himself has graciously intrusted to our church. During the past century, 1,199 persons (740 brethren, and 459 sisters, have been employed in the same.

"At the present time, there are 57 superannuated or retired missionaries (viz. 24 brethren and 33 sisters), who reside in our German, English, and American congregations, and are either wholly or partially supported by our mission fund; constituting a charge on this fund of about £1,200, on an average of several years past. The allowance to a married missionary in retirement does not therefore exceed £35, and to a widow £12—an economical provision, to which it would be impracticable to adhere, were it not for the peculiar advantages afforded for this purpose by the settlements of the brethren, especially on the continent of Europe.

"Not a few of those who were born in our missionary stations have blessedly followed the footsteps of their parents. In the year 1830, there were twelve brethren and sisters employed in various stations, who were themselves the children of missionaries."

Egypt.

Egypt, under the enlightened policy of Mohammed Ali, seems about to re-appear in her former glory. This celebrated chieftain is of Turkish origin, and was born at Cavala, in Macedonia, in 1769. From his youth, he exhibited extraordinary penetration, dexterity, and ambition. The Turkish governor at Cavala, gave him a common education, and then an office, and a rich wife. He learned reading and writing after he became a pacha. A merchant of Marseilles, named Lion, inspired him with friendly feelings towards the French, and with religious toleration. On this account, the residence of strangers in Egypt has been facilitated. His first campaign was in Egypt, against the French in 1800. He established his reputation as a soldier in the contest of the pachas with the mamelukes, after the French had abandoned Egypt, in 1802. In April, 1806, the Porte

confirmed him as governor of Egypt, and elevated him to the rank of a pacha of three tails. He soon restored the distracted country to order. He assimilated his army and navy to those of Europe, and subjected them to European discipline. He attached regular bands of military music to each of his regiments, with European instructors, who teach the Arab musicians to play on European instruments, the marches and airs of England, France, and Germany. A short distance from Cairo, he has established a permanent military hospital, and placed it under European surgeons; and has formed a school of medicine and anatomy, in which not only botany, mineralogy, and chemistry are taught, but human bodies are publicly dissected by students who profess the Mohammedan religion. At Alexandria, he has a naval school, in which Mohammedan students are instructed in the several branches of geometry, trigonometry, mechanics and astronomy; and a dock-yard, under the control of an European naval architect, in which, besides frigates and other vessels of smaller dimensions, four ships of the line, three carrying 110 guns upon two decks, and one of 130 guns, have been recently built. He has encouraged the formation of regular insurance offices, has improved all the canals in the country, introduced steam-boats on the Nile, patronized two Englishmen, who have been employed in boring for water in the desert, has encouraged the growth of indigo, cotton, and opium, has established schools for the instruction of all orders of his people, has sent, at a great expense to himself, young men, both of the higher and lower ranks, to England and France, for the purpose of acquiring useful knowledge. He has constituted a public assembly at Cairo, who hold regular sittings for forty days in each year, and publicly discuss, for his information, the interests and wants of his different provinces. He patronizes the publication of a weekly newspaper in Arabic and Turkish. And, finally, he protects all Christian merchants, both in war and in peace.

Egypt is an interesting station for missionary labors. The pacha has subdued all the southern nations, even to the frontier of Abyssinia; and these countries can now be visited with considerable security. The vernacular tongue of Egypt is the Arabic, which is spoken by almost all the strangers, as Armenians, Jews, Greeks, and Turks, and it is spreading in the countries which the pacha has brought under his government.

The Mohammedans in the cities, are, in general, more to be trusted than the Christians, and as they are the predominant party, they show less fraud and cunning, and have less of the spirit of slavery. They may be divided into the learned, merchants, shop-keepers, craftsmen, and the servile class. The Bedouins are a well-shaped,

fine-looking race of people, and generally answer to the description given of Ishmael, in Genesis. The pacha has induced a large number of them partly to settle themselves in villages. The Copts are the remnants of the old Egyptians. They consider themselves almost exclusively as the accountants of the pacha. They are generally represented as a stupid and perfidious people, enormously addicted to brandy drinking. The Syrians, who are generally Greek catholics, are merchants, accountants, and craftsmen. Some of them fill high stations in the service of the pacha. They are said by Mr. Lieder to be the French of the east. The Greeks are artisans, architects, shop-keepers, and coffee men, and resemble the Syrians. The Armenians are the most respected and opulent part of the oriental Christians in Egypt. They and the Jews are the bankers of the country. The Europeans are in general extremely deficient in moral character. The Jews are the same in character and manner of living, as in Europe.

It ought not to be inferred from the preceding remarks, respecting the enlightened policy of Mohammed Ali, that the moral state of the people is essentially improved. Swearing, lying, adultery, stealing, and other similar vices, are fearfully prevalent. Mr. Lieder, a Christian missionary, who has resided several years in Egypt, says that, "among all the different denominations of oriental Christians, as Greeks, Armenians, Maronites, Greek Catholics, Armenian Catholics, Roman Catholics, Syrians and Copts, he had not met with one truly converted man."

From missionary labors, considerable results have followed. The Holy Scriptures have been widely diffused in the various languages. They have been received, in many instances, with eagerness and gratitude. Several hundred children have been taught to read, and a flourishing school for poor children established at Cairo.

Jews in Europe.

A society has existed for a number of years in England, which has labored with considerable vigor and success, in attempting to impart to the Jews scattered over Europe and Western Asia, the blessings of Christianity. To show the spirit and extent of their labors, we make a few extracts from a report.

"There are now 30 boys in the school, six having gone out and the same number having been admitted during the year; and 37 girls, two having gone out and two others having been received in their place. This small number is owing to the restriction which it was thought necessary to adopt during the past year; but there are sev-

eral applicants, who have been waiting some time for the admission of their children.

"The present number of missionaries in immediate connection with the society is 34: there are, besides, 4 agents employed by the local committees in Calcutta and Madras, making a total of 38; of whom, 13 are converted Jews. There are also 5 individuals employed as school-masters at Dantzic and in the grand duchy of Posen; amounting to the number of FORTY-THREE missionary agents engaged in promoting the cause of the society.

"There are at least six millions of Jews in the world. They have been, for ages, neglected, despised, and persecuted. Your society found them living in great ignorance and moral degradation—having very little knowledge of their own Scriptures, and none whatever of those of the New Testament. Many had fallen into the prevailing infidelity of the age.

"During the last few years, there has been a great increase of scriptural knowledge among them: many Jews are now well acquainted with the doctrines of the New Testament. By means of the society, the pure Scriptures have been introduced into a great many Jewish schools, where formerly only the talmud was read. Many thousands of Jews have, for the first time, heard the word of the gospel; and though a faithful missionary has often to encounter opposition and disappointment, yet, on the whole, there is great encouragement in preaching the gospel to this people: they often listen with great attention: they regard missionaries as their friends; and a spirit of inquiry is very widely diffused. One striking proof of their desire for God's word, is their willingness to purchase it, of which the accounts from some of the missionary stations afford continual proof: only to allude to one instance:—A missionary sold 81 Hebrew Bibles, 53 Psalters, and 5 Pentateuchs, besides giving away a few Hebrew New Testaments, to the JEWS OF ALGIERS, during a short visit to that newly opened sphere of labor.

"The Rev. J. J. Banga, has been obliged to try the effect of a temporary residence in the warmer climate of the South of Italy. The Rev. P. J. Oster continues to travel with much activity through different parts of France: in some instances he found a decided blessing: in the majority of cases he encountered indifference and skepticism; and, on some occasions, was even in danger of personal violence.

"Mr. R. Bellson, who is of the Jewish nation, has already commenced his labors in Holland; having previously visited Cassel, his native town, where he has testified of the truth as it is in Jesus to his unbelieving brethren. Mr. W. Davenport is to join Mr. Bellson

at Rotterdam. Mr. West has been for some months in Holland, chiefly at Rotterdam; where he has been much favored in obtaining access to many of the Jews: great numbers have heard the truth.

"Mr. J. Stockfeld continues to prosecute his labors, from Cologne, in the district of the Lower Rhine; chiefly directing his efforts to the circulation of the Scriptures, and to their introduction into Jewish schools, in which he has proved eminently successful. Mr. C. C. Petri resides at present at Lippstadt, where he will be shortly joined by Mr. J. E. Hiscock. Cassel has been visited by Mr. R. Bellson, whose own Jewish relatives reside in that city. Mr. J. C. Moritz continues to reside at Frankfort-on-the-Maine, where he has continual opportunities of preaching the gospel, and distributing the Scriptures among the Jews; especially among the foreign Jews, who come to Frankfort for purposes of traffic, or are passing through on their journeys elsewhere.

"The schools in Prussian Poland, and the labors of the missionaries (Rev. J. G. Wermelskirch, Mr. J. Graf, and Mr. J. Hartmann) were suspended, on account both of cholera and of the political convulsions in the neighboring country. The Rev. A. Gerlach, at Thorn, found his labors, in common with his brethren in this part of Europe, much interrupted by the military precautions which the troubles of Poland rendered necessary. He continued to travel among the Jews during the whole of last summer, in East and West Prussia, and in the north of Prussian Poland. The Rev. J. G. Bergfeldt has continued his labors at Koenigsberg, under circumstances of much trial: at one period, his intercourse with the Jews was entirely suspended.

"In Warsaw, the Rev. A. M'Caul, the Rev. F. W. Becker, the Rev. R. Smith, and Messrs. J. Lange, J. Waschitscheck, and H. Lawrence continued to go among the Jews so long as it was practicable or allowable to do so; although the excitement of military preparation by no means tended to open a way for their quiet exertions. Mr. Smith and Mr. Lawrence are engaged in superintending the Warsaw institution for affording employment for destitute inquiring Jews: it is in no respect dependent on the society for its support. Upwards of forty Jews have been in the Institution since January, 1830: the greatest number at one time has been seventeen; the smallest, which is at present, seven.

"At Lublin, the situation of your missionaries (Rev. G. Wendt, Rev. L. Hoff, and Mr. Rosenfeldt) was very peculiar, and their deliverances have been most remarkable: the cholera morbus prevailed most alarmingly around them, and when this abated, their part of the country became the scene of warfare and bloodshed."

Portugal.

On the 23d of April, 1826, Don Pedro (IV. of Portugal) granted a constitution to his people, establishing two chambers, and in other respects resembling the French charter. On the 2d of May, he abdicated the throne in favor of his daughter, Donna Maria, he remaining king during her minority, on condition of her marrying her uncle Miguel. But a party secretly favored by Spain, was formed in Portugal, which aimed at the overthrow of this constitution, which had been sworn to by the queen, by the two chambers, and all the magistrates, and even by Miguel himself. This party proclaimed the prince absolute king of Portugal. Spain assembled an army on the frontiers. England sent over 15,000 troops to the aid of the queen. They occupied the most important points, and Spain was forced to yield. In July, 1827, Pedro named his brother Miguel, regent of the kingdom, with all the rights established by the charter. On the 26th of February, 1828, Miguel took the oath to observe the charter. But the *absolutists* soon began to speak of his entire right to the throne. His ministers were all appointed from that party, except Villa Real. On the 1st of March, acts of personal violence were offered to some constitutionalists, and on the 14th, the cortes was dissolved. Near the end of June, the constitutional forces were defeated in a battle fought near Lisbon. Miguel now turned his attention to the consolidation of his power, and assumed the royal title. Cruelty marked his measures, and the prisons were filled with victims. Madeira and the Azores were reduced to subjection, with the exception of Terceira. For some time, Portugal was the prey of political and religious bigots. In 1830, it was estimated that the number of prisoners confined for political causes was above 40,000. In May, 1831, Miguel was compelled by a British fleet to yield to some demands for redress of grievances suffered on the part of the British. A similar humiliation was inflicted by the French in July. In August, an insurrection of the troops broke out against Miguel; it was temporarily suppressed, after some bloodshed.

On the 9th of July, 1832, Don Pedro, with his forces, amounting to about 7,500, landed in Portugal, and immediately proceeded to Oporto, which he entered without opposition. On the 23d, the forces of Pedro and Miguel met near Coimbra, and a battle was fought, in which the former, with about 8,000 men, defeated the latter with 12,500. The war continued, with various alternations, till the summer of 1833, when Pedro began to gain decided advantages over his brother. On the 23d of July, Count Villa Flor, marching from St. Ubes, met and totally routed the forces of Miguel sent from Lisbon. On the receipt of this intelligence at Lisbon, the Miguelite forces,

4,000 strong, abandoned the city, and Count Villa Flor, with the constitutionalists, entered it on the 24th. Admiral Napier, had previously entirely defeated the naval force of Miguel. Some attempts have been made since, by the *absolutists*, under the French general Bourmont, to recover their lost ground, but without effect. In the character of the two brothers, there does not seem much to choose. Pedro is represented as cruel in his temper, and dissolute in his morals, though brave and energetic in body and mind. He was born in Lisbon, Oct. 12, 1798. In 1817, he married Leopoldine, arch-duchess of Austria, daughter of Francis I., by whom he had five children, among whom are the queen Donna Maria de Gloria, and Don Pedro II., present emperor of Brazil, born in 1825. Leopoldine died in 1826, a reputed victim to her husband's scandalous attachment for the marchioness of Santos.

Miguel was born Oct. 26th, 1802. Doubts are said to have been entertained by the king in respect to the legitimacy of his birth. His mother, daughter of Charles IV. of Spain, imbued his mind with all her political and religious prejudices. In private life, Miguel has shown himself an unfeeling tyrant. He threw his eldest sister, Isabella Maria, into prison, and he has even been accused of attempting to poison both his sisters.

OBITUARY NOTICES.

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE.

THIS distinguished philanthropist was born at Hull, in Yorkshire, England, in 1759, of which place his grandfather had been twice mayor. His father died when he was young, and in 1774, he was sent to St. John's college, Cambridge, where he formed an intimacy with Mr. Pitt. Mr. Wilberforce came into the possession of a large fortune, and in 1780, was elected member of parliament for Hull. During this parliament, he did not take any active part in politics. In 1784, he was re-elected, and owing to the partiality of the people for Mr. Pitt's friends, was also chosen for the county of York.

In 1787, Thomas Clarkson, in the prosecution of his great object, the abolition of the slave-trade, first visited Mr. Wilberforce. Mr. W. stated frankly to him, that the subject had often employed his thoughts, and that it was near his heart. He had repeated conversations with Mr. Clarkson, and urged him to proceed in his philanthropic labors. Soon afterwards, at the unanimous request of the friends of the abolition of the traffic, Mr. W. consented to bring forward the measure into parliament. The nature of the trade soon became known throughout the kingdom. In February, 1788, thirty-five petitions had been sent to the house of commons in reference to the subject. In the same month, the king, by an order of council, directed that a committee of the privy council should sit as a board of trade, to take the subject into consideration. Mr. Wilberforce was too ill to render any assistance in connection with this examination. Mr. Pitt accordingly consented to introduce the subject to the notice of parliament. On the 9th of May, Mr. Pitt rose, and said "that he intended to move a resolution relative to a subject, which was of more importance than any which had ever agitated that house. This honor he should not have had, but for a circumstance which he could not but deeply regret, the severe indisposition of his friend Mr. Wilberforce, in whose hands every measure, which belonged to justice, humanity, and the national interest, was peculiarly well placed." Mr. Pitt was followed by Fox, Burke, Whitbread, and others. The general subject was postponed to the next session, and in the mean time, witnesses were heard on both sides of the question.

On the 19th of March, 1789, Mr. Wilberforce rose in the house of commons, and desired that the resolution, by which the house stood pledged to take the slave-trade into consideration, might be read. He then moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee of the whole, on the 23d of April, for this purpose. The time was subsequently postponed to the 12th of May. On that day, Mr. Wilberforce made an extended speech, in which he took up the subject from its foundations. We copy the closing paragraph.

"He would now conclude by begging pardon of the house for having detained them so long. He could indeed have expressed his own conviction in fewer words. He needed only to have made one or two short statements, and to have quoted the commandment, 'Thou shalt do no murder.' But he thought it his duty to lay the whole of the case, and the whole of its guilt, before them. They would see now that no mitigations, no palliatives, would either be efficient or admissible. Nothing short of an absolute abolition could be adopted. This they owed to Africa: they owed it, too, to their

own moral characters. And he hoped they would follow up the principle of one of the repentant African captains, who had gone before the committee of privy council as a voluntary witness, and that they would make Africa all the atonement in their power for the multifarious injuries she had received at the hands of British subjects. With respect to these injuries, their enormity and extent, it might be alleged in their excuse, that they were not fully acquainted with them till that moment, and therefore not answerable for their former existence: but now they could no longer plead ignorance concerning them. They had seen them brought directly before their eyes, and they must decide for themselves, and must justify to the world and their own consciences, the facts and principles upon which their decision was formed."

Edmund Burke, who soon afterwards spoke, declared that the house, the nation, and all Europe, were under great obligations to Mr. Wilberforce for having brought this important subject forward. "He had done it in a manner the most masterly, impressive, and eloquent. He had laid down his principles so admirably, and with so much order and force, that his speech equalled any thing which he had ever heard in modern oratory." Fox, Greenville, Pitt, and others, concurred in the same opinion of Mr. Wilberforce's speech. As a specimen of the noble spirit by which he was actuated, we make another quotation, from a speech delivered some years afterwards.

"To see this great cause thus triumphing over distinctions and prejudices, was a noble spectacle. Whatever might be said of our political divisions, such a sight had taught us, that there were subjects still beyond the reach of party; that there was a point of elevation, where we ascended above the jarring of the discordant elements, which ruffled and agitated the vale below. In our ordinary atmosphere, clouds and vapors obscured the air, and we were the sport of a thousand conflicting winds and adverse currents; but here we moved in a higher region, where all was pure and clear, and free from perturbation and discomposure.

'As some tall cliff, that lifts its awful form,
Swells from the vale, and midway leaves the storm;
Though round its breast the rolling clouds are spread,
Eternal sunshine settles on its head.'

"Here then, on this august eminence, he hoped we should build the temple of benevolence; that we should lay its foundation deep in truth and justice; and that we should inscribe upon its gates, 'Peace and good-will to men.' Here we should offer the first-fruits of our benevolence, and endeavor to compensate, if possible, for the injuries we had brought upon our fellow men.

"He would only now observe, that his conviction of the indispensable necessity of immediately abolishing this trade remained as strong as ever. Let those who talked of allowing three or four years to the continuance of it, reflect on the disgraceful scenes which had passed last year. As for himself, he would wash his hands of the blood which would be spilled in this horrid interval. He could not, however, but believe, that the hour was come, when we should put a final period to the existence of this cruel traffic. Should he unhappily be mistaken, he would never desert the cause; but to the last moment of his life he would exert his utmost powers in its support."

Mr. Wilberforce and his friends persevered through all obstacles, till at length, in 1807, twenty years from the time when the subject was first introduced into parliament, the motion for the final and total abolition of the traffic was carried in the commons by a vote of 283 to 16, and in the lords, without a division.

The efforts of this great man, and of his no less philanthropic associates, were thus crowned with the most glorious success. It is difficult to estimate the exertions of each, when all did so nobly. Burke, Pitt, and Fox, will receive the gratitude of all future time. The toils of Clarkson were gigantic. Never did a man so "endure unto the end." But without Wilberforce, as the parliamentary leader, all other efforts might have been in vain. He brought to the work religious principle, incorruptible integrity, a political character above reproach, and the confidence of all parties, ministerial and anti-ministerial.

Mr. Wilberforce's *Practical view of the prevailing religious systems of professing Christians, in the higher and middle classes, contrasted with real Christianity*, was first published in the spring of 1797. "The plan," says Bishop Wilson, "was in a great measure new. No writer had appeared, especially among laymen, to address the nation generally on the plain fundamental and vital truths of our religion, and to confront these truths boldly, and yet affectionately, with the fashionable notions, which passed for Christianity. It seems to be the spontaneous produce of a mind thoroughly stored with its materials, accustomed to speak before a refined yet popular audience, and capable, from long experience, of expressing with ease and propriety, what it has previously meditated. The book is in fact nothing more nor less than a series of speeches in parliament, in which, from brief annotations and hints of topics, the statesman urges upon the legislature, his well-weighed and important cause." The reception the work met with was extraordinary. Three or four large editions were exhausted in the first few months. About *fifty* editions have been published in this country and in England. Translations have

been made into most of the European languages. The book went to accredit real Christianity to statesmen and legislators; it conveyed important information to the higher classes; it bore powerfully on the younger clergy, by addressing their consciences, as in the case of Legh Richmond, and by explaining the difficulties in the state of Christianity which they had not been able to discover; it tended to form a school in divinity, by raising up a large and important class of writers; in short, it may be said to have formed an *era* in the history of religion in England.

Mr. Wilberforce was frequently engaged in parliament, subsequently to 1807, in efforts to carry the law abolishing the slave trade into complete effect. Some measure of this kind was prompted or seconded by him, at almost every session of the legislature. The arrangements, which the great powers of Europe entered into, at the general pacification, on the downfall of Buonaparte, for the abandonment of the traffic in slaves, are to be ascribed very much to the unceasing efforts of Mr. Wilberforce in and out of Parliament. The final abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, and indeed in every part of the extensive dominions of Britain, was an object to which he devoted all the ardor of his philanthropy, and all the maturity of his wisdom. Year after year, this venerable man, in connection with his younger associates, Buxton, William Smith, Lushington, Stephen, Macauley, and others, met the torrent of abuse which was regularly heaped upon them by the advocates of slavery, till the entire British nation was roused, king, parliament, and people, and slavery was swept from her domains. Mr. Wilberforce lived almost to see the consummation of this great event. How must his heart have exulted within him, as he went down the dark valley!

In the great struggle for the introduction of Christianity into British India, Mr. Wilberforce was one of an illustrious triumvirate. The individuals who mainly contributed to the change in public feeling in regard to India, were Mr. Grant, (father of the present Sir Charles Grant,) Dr. Buchanan, and Mr. Wilberforce. When the East India Company's charter was renewed, in 1793, it was with difficulty that Mr. Wilberforce obtained the frigid assent of the House of Commons to a proposition affirming that it was the duty of the legislature to promote the interest and happiness of the inhabitants of India. This resolution was attended with no effect. The House of Commons refused to embody it in the act of incorporation, and in the House of Lords, Bishop Porteus, in efforts to procure its adoption, received scarcely any support even from his Episcopal brethren. In 1813, when the subject came again before parliament, a very different scene was presented. On the 22d of May, 1813, Lord Castle-

reagh, in a speech replete with sound sense and liberal views, proposed to the House of Commons the following motion. "That it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement," &c. This resolution was supported in a most eloquent and argumentative speech, by Mr. Wilberforce. He was ably seconded by Mr. William Smith and some other gentlemen. The resolution was carried by a majority of 53, and in the House of Lords, without a disapproving voice. Petitions for the object had been received from more than *eight hundred* towns and corporations.

Mr. Wilberforce retired some years since from parliament. He died on the 29th of July, 1833. His funeral is thus described:—

"It took place mostly in Westminster abbey, where the body was placed in the vicinity of the monuments of Pitt, Fox, and Canning. The abbey was crowded with spectators of this solemn scene, among whom, besides an immense number of ladies of high rank, were a large part of both Houses of Parliament, and many other distinguished characters. The pall bearers were the Lord Chancellor, Speaker of the House of Commons, Lord Bexley, and the Marquess of Westminster, on the one side; the Right Hon. Charles Grant, Sir Robert Inglis, Mr. W. Smith, and his Royal Highness, the Duke of Gloucester on the other. While the order of procession was formed through the aisles of the abbey, the bell, it is said, tolled slowly and solemnly. At the signal of advance, the organ commenced its melancholy notes, and the numerous band of choristers chimed in. The effect must have been sublime.

"After the ceremony, the multitude present pressed eagerly towards the grave, to get a sight of the coffin, which was covered with rich black velvet, and ornamented with gilt moulding, heading, &c. In the centre of the lid was a splendid brass plate of considerable dimensions, with the following simple inscription:

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE,

Born 24th of August, 1759;

Died 29th of July, 1833."

SIR JOHN MALCOLM.

DIED in London, May 31, 1833, Sir John Malcolm, F. R. S. major general in the service of the East India company, aged 64. He

was born near Langholm, Scotland, May 2, 1769. His father was George Malcolm, his mother Miss Pasley. He had sixteen brothers and sisters. In 1782, he went to India as a cadet. He soon acquired an intimate acquaintance with the Persian language. In 1792, Cornwallis appointed him Persian interpreter to an English force. In 1794, he returned home on account of health. In 1795, he went back to India. After the fall of Seringapatam, he was selected by lord Wellesley, to proceed on a diplomatic mission to Persia, a country which no British ambassador had visited since the reign of Elizabeth. He succeeded in accomplishing every object of his mission. In 1802, he was again intrusted with a mission to Persia. In 1808, for a third time, he was charged with the same commission, and endeavored to counteract the designs of Buonaparte, then in the zenith of his power. On his fourth visit in 1810, so favorable was the impression which he produced, that he was presented by the Persian prince with a valuable sword and star, and made a *khan* of the empire. In 1812, he returned to England, and received the honors of knighthood. In 1821, he was appointed major general, and created by the prince regent, a knight grand cross. In 1822, a superb vase, worth £1,500 was presented him on account of his military services in India, and a grant from the East India company, of £1,000 per annum. In 1827, he was appointed governor of Bombay. On leaving his office in 1831, all parties vied in their acknowledgements of gratitude for his eminent services. The missionaries, English, Scotch, and American, united in these expressions of thankfulness. In 1831, he was returned to parliament. In 1832, he employed himself in writing his work on the government of India, which was published a few weeks since. As an author, he attained considerable rank. Among his writings, are sketches of Persia, History of Persia, Memoir of Central India, Life of Lord Clive, &c. &c. He married in June, 1807, Charlotte Campbell, by whom he had five children, all living.

REV. JOHN SARGENT.

DIED on the 3d of May, 1833, at Wollavington, Sussex, England, aged 52, Rev. John Sargent, fellow of King's college, Cambridge, and author of *Memoirs of Henry Martyn*, and *T. T. Thomason*. He was the eldest son of John Sargent, M. P., of London, and chief clerk of the ordnance office. He had five brothers and three sisters, six of whom are now living. He graduated at Cambridge in 1804. He married the same year Mary Smith, neice to lord Carrington. They had two sons, and five daughters.

EDMUND KEAN.

THIS celebrated actor was born Nov. 4, 1787, in London, and died on the 15th of May, 1833. He began to perform parts on the stage, at *four* years of age. The total sum received by him in England, America, and France, since 1814, is stated at £176,000, or averaging upwards of £9,000 a year, for nineteen years. Notwithstanding, he died poor! It was for some time a matter of doubt whether it was worth while to administer his effects.

M. VICTOR JACQUEMONT.

THIS distinguished French naturalist died at Bombay, on the 7th of December, 1832, aged 31. He had visited the Himalaya, passed through the Punjab, Cashmere, Thibet, and a small part of Chinese Tartary. He has left voluminous collections respecting botany, geology, statistics, &c.

JOHN BELL.

DIED lately at Campsie, Scotland, John Bell, aged 63, author of several geographical works.

LORD KING.

DIED in London, June 4th, in his 58th year, Rt. Hon. Peter King. In 1829, he published the life of John Locke, with extracts from his correspondence, journals, and common-place books. Locke was uncle to lord King's great grandfather. A second edition appeared in 1830, with additional historical documents, from the lord chancellor King's note book. Of late years, lord King has signalized himself as the bitter enemy of the church of England.

JAMES ANDREW.

DIED in Edinburgh, June 13, 1833, in his 60th year, Rev. James Andrew, LL. D., F. R. S., principal of the East India company's seminary, at Addiscombe. He was for fifteen years professor of mathematics. He was author of a Hebrew grammar and dictionary.

SAVARY, DUKE OF ROVIGO.

DIED in January, 1833, the duke of Rovigo, governor of Algiers. He was born at a little village, in Champagne, France, April 26, 1774. In Buonaparte's expedition to Egypt, he was a lieutenant colonel. He was not destitute of personal courage, but his manners were coarse even to brutality. Under the exterior of military bluntness, he concealed an unrivalled duplicity. He adhered to Napoleon with the utmost good faith. Buonaparte gave him a watch worth 4,000 francs. His death was owing to a cancer in the throat.

MORGHEN.

DIED at Florence, April 11, Raffale Morghen, the celebrated engraver. His exquisite productions have been fully described by his scholar Palmerini.

J. J. PARK.

DIED at Brighton, England, aged 38, John James Park, professor of law and jurisprudence at King's college, London. The honorary degree of LL. D. was conferred on him by the university of Göttingen.

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